







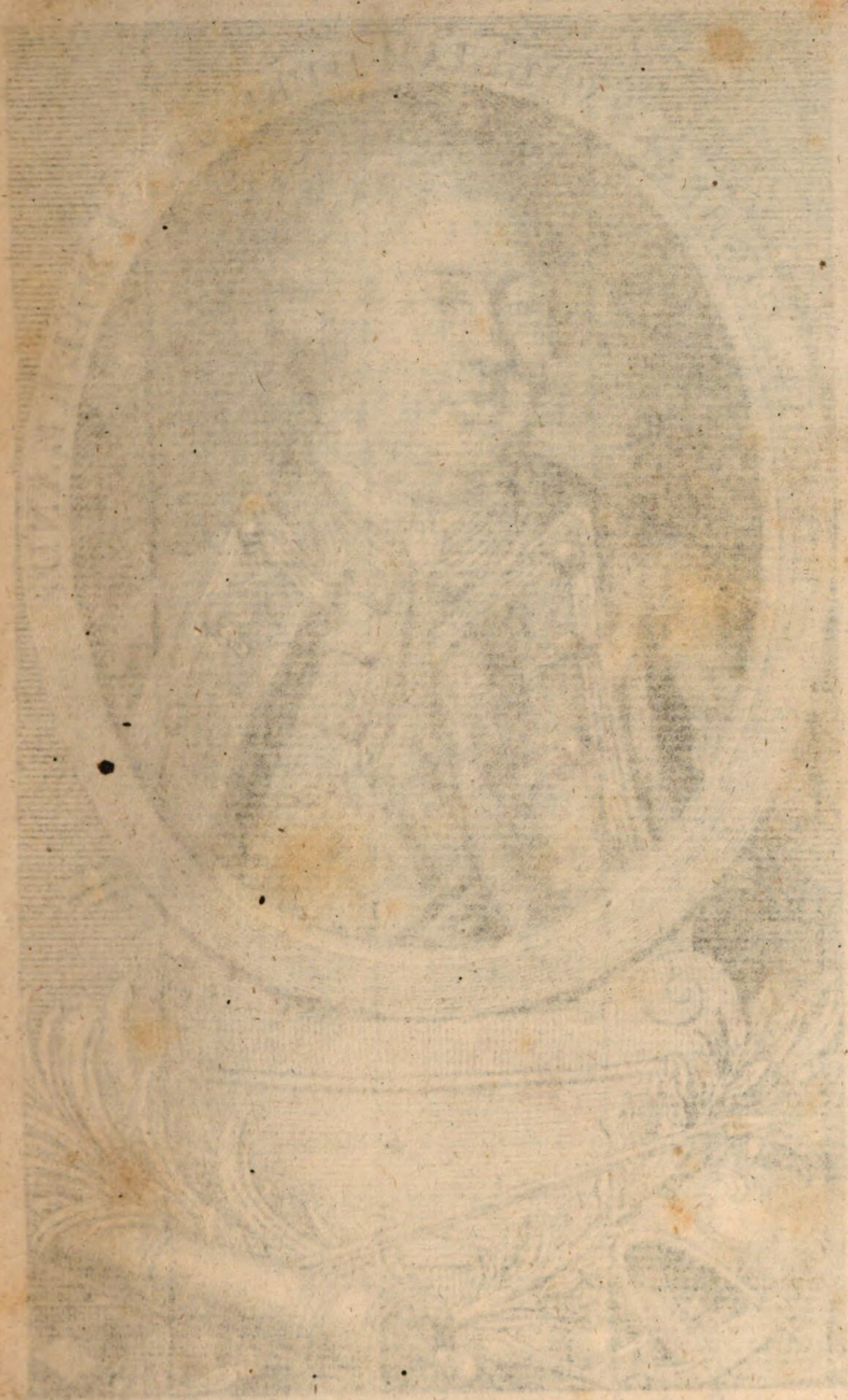
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THE GENERAL
HISTORY of the Late WAR:

CONTAINING IT'S
Rise, Progress, *and* Event,
IN

EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA, and AMERICA.

AND EXHIBITING
The STATE of the Belligerent Powers at the Commence-
ment of the War; their Interests and Objects in it's
Continuation; and REMARKS on the Measures, which
led GREAT BRITAIN to Victory and Conquest.

INTERSPERSED WITH
The CHARACTERS of the able and disinterested STATESMEN,
to whose Wisdom and Integrity, and of the HEROES, to
whose Courage and Conduct, we are indebted for that

NAVAL and MILITARY

Success, which is not to be equalled in the Annals of this, or
of any other Nation.

AND WITH
Accurate Descriptions of the SEAT of WAR, the Nature and
Importance of our CONQUESTS, and of the most remarkable
BATTLES by Sea and Land.

Illustrated with
A Variety of HEADS, PLANS, MAPS, and CHARTS,
Designed and Engraved by the *best Artists*.

V O L. III.

Historici est: nequid falsi, audeat dicere: nequid veri, non audeat.
POLIB.

By the Rev. JOHN ENTICK, M. A.
And other GENTLEMEN.

L O N D O N:

Printed for EDWARD DILLY, in the Poultry;
And JOHN MILLAN, at Charing-Cross.
M.DCC.LXIII.

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THE
GENERAL HISTORY
OF THE
LATE WAR.

THE Imperial army being utterly disabled by the defeat at Rosbach; and there being nothing to fear, nor to do in this quarter, his Prussian Majesty was left entirely at liberty to act in person against the Austrians. They had opened trenches before Schweidnitz, in Silesia, on the 26th of October, but had made little or no progress on the 9th of November, having been perpetually interrupted by the frequent sallies of the besieged. Prince Charles of Lorrain had encamped near Breslau, over-against the army commanded to cover that city, under the Prince of Bevern, waiting the reduction of Schweidnitz, that he might be able by the addition of the forces^a employed in that siege, to give

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1757.

King of Prussia turns his thoughts against the Austrians in Silesia.

^a The troops of Bavaria and Wurtemberg.

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1757.

The
shameful
capitula-
tion made
by the offi-
cers in
Schweid-
nitz.

Bevern battle, or make him retreat and leave Breslau to his mercy. By these circumstances Silesia was in danger of being forced out of the hands of Prussia. This was the principal object of the war between him and the Empress Queen. His Majesty, therefore, hastened to its assistance with a considerable part of his victorious army, firmly believing that the garrison would hold out, with hopes of relief, to the last extremity. But it was too late. For, though there was great encouragement to hold out, from the great loss sustained by the Austrians, in a general assault, on the eleventh, when they could only carry two redoubts, without making any considerable breach in the ramparts of the town, the generals, who commanded at Schweidnitz, thought proper against the inclination of the garrison, who had before, and then offered to force their way through the besiegers, to capitulate next day; and thereby surrendered themselves and a garrison of 4000 brave fellows prisoners of war, and that important fortress into the hands of the Austrian auxiliaries, together with a great quantity of ammunition, provisions and money.

The sol-
diers made
prisoners,
fly from
their escort.

The loss of this strong town was certainly a very great weakening of his Prussian Majesty's interest and strength in Silesia; but the depriving him of the service of so many veteran soldiers would have been more severely felt in his present circumstances had they not found an opportunity to disengage themselves from the escort, conducting them into Bohemia; which the garrison of Schweidnitz were animated to do by the news of the

he achievements of their fellow soldiers, under the command of their King in person, at Rosbach. So that not above 200 of these prisoners remained with the Austrians.

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Schweidnitz having surrendered, the corps^b, which had besieged it, rejoined the main army near Lissa. Where it was resolved to attack the Prince of Bevern without delay; before the King, by forced marches, could arrive to his assistance. Their force was three times more than the Prince's: and General Nadaſti was posted with a separate body on the flank of the Prussian right wing. The attack was begun at nine o'clock on the 22d in the morning. But notwithstanding their vast superiority in numbers, and the advantage of their situation, the Austrian right wing was entirely beat and forced to retire towards Newmarck. Lieutenant General Ziethen, who commanded the Prussian left wing, gave Nadaſti such a warm reception, that his separate corps was also routed; and the enemy began every where to give up the battle for lost, and to consult how they might make a safe retreat; and left the Prussians in possession of the field of battle. But the Prince of Bevern finding that some of his regiments had suffered greatly, did not think it proper to remain in that situation. He first withdrew into his camp; and next night he passed the Oder near Breslau: a retreat equally as mysterious as the surrender of Schweidnitz; for according to the best accounts, his army was far from being weakened in propor-

The Austrians re-join the main army at Lissa.

Attack the Prince of Bevern.

Beaten.

Prince of Bevern retires.

^b Had lost 8000 men in the siege.

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tion to the Austrians, who, it is said, amounted to 20,000 men killed, wounded and missing.

Surprized
and taken
prisoner.

On the 23d the army remained behind Breslau: and on the 24th, about four in the morning, the Prince of Bevern, as he was reconnoitring with an escort, was surprized and carried off by a party of Croats, who had passed the Oder, under the command of General Beck. This misfortune did not come alone. Lieutenant General Lestwitz, the chief commander in Breslau, giving up all hopes of support from an army, that knew not how to improve the advantage of their late victory, and was now deprived of their commander, in a very mysterious manner, and thinking his own strength was very insufficient to maintain a place so extensive and so badly fortified, capitulated, on condition that the garrison and wounded should have free leave to march out, and not act against the Empress Queen during the course of the war.

All communication
between
the King of
Prussia and
his army in
Silesia cut
off.

Such was the situation of his Prussian Majesty, all communication between him and his armies in Silesia being cut off by the enemy, that he could have no advice of these transactions, till the 29th, when he arrived at Parchwitz. Here he assembled his whole strength; the resolute garrison of Schweidnitz, that broke from their escort, and the forces, that had done such great things under the Prince of Bevern, and Lieutenant General Ziethen. And by this junction, his Majesty, on the first of December, found himself in a condition to face the enemy, and his troops full of ardour to restore affairs to their former state.

This

Thus disposed and animated, his Prussian Majesty, being but two days march distant from the enemy, advanced with his whole army to Neumarck, on the 4th. The visit was quite unexpected. It threw the hussars and pandours, many thousands of which were resting themselves secure in that town, into great confusion, at the approach of the King's army. They endeavoured to escape towards Breslau, while they shut the gates of the town on the side of the Prussians. But his Prussian Majesty foreseeing that would be their attempt to escape, had ordered some squadrons of dragoons and hussars to file round the walls, and to cut off their retreat. By this means the action became desperate. The Prussians forced the gates and drove the enemy entirely out of the town: who falling into the hands of a large body of cavalry, stationed for that purpose, 300 of them were cut to pieces, and 600 threw down their arms and were made prisoners; with the loss of no more than five Prussian hussars. There were found in this town all the enemy's ovens, a small magazine, and two pieces of cannon, belonging to the pandours.

The Austrian army, upon the news of this insult, demolished the entrenchments of their camp near Lissa, recalled all their straggling parties, and all the garrison of Breslau, except a few battalions, in order to seek the King of Prussia, and to chastise him for his presumption to come and beat up their quarters. But as soon as his Majesty was informed of their motions and design,

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he,

A. D.
1757.Marches in
quest of the
Austrian
army.Surprizes
Neumarck.Loss of the
Austrians.Austrian
army
march to
give him
battle.

A. D. 1757. he, to save some trouble and time, resolved to meet the enemy : and at five o'clock next morning (the 5th) he began to march with his whole army. At day break the Austrian cavalry were descryed on a hill about half a league from Neumarck : who spread themselves so much, that they carried the appearance of the whole Austrian army, by that dawn of light; and accordingly the King commanded his troops to march forward in two columns.

King of Prussia advances to meet them.

Drives their advanced guard back.

As the day advanced it was soon discovered that those troops, which occupied the hills, were only four regiments of Saxon light horse, under the command of Lieutenant General Count Nostitz. The Prussian hussars were immediately ordered to attack them. Which they performed so furiously, that they killed and took about 300 and put the rest to flight : who escaped under the protection of a thick fog. A circumstance that also greatly favoured the march of the Prussians, as they proceeded. For, they were upon the main body of the Austrian army, about noon, under this cover, before they were apprized of their intentions.

Disposition and strength of the Austrian camp.

The Austrians were drawn up in order of battle, in front of the village of Leuthen, upon a fine plain, with some adjacent eminencies well furnished with artillery, fortified both on the right and the left by strong batteries of cannon, and in the intervals made difficult of access by trees felled and laid cross the ways, where the thickets did not favour their operations and dispositions. Moreover their left wing was well covered behind by a pretty large
large

large wood, where the enemy had cut down a great number of trees, to prevent their being attacked in flank. However, after his Prussian Majesty had reconnoitred their situation, he resolved to attack their left wing, and made his dispositions accordingly: and as General Nadaſti was posted with a corps of reserve on the left wing, in order to fall upon the flank of the right wing of the Prussians, his Majesty placed four battalions behind the cavalry of this same wing, which had a very good effect: for, these same battalions not only routed Nadaſti's corps, which, at the beginning of the action flanked the Prussian cavalry in the right wing, and had made them give way; but supported and covered the right wing so effectually, that they acted with such vigour on the left of the enemy, as to oblige them soon after to fall back. This made way for the Prussian infantry to advance; which they did in good order, though exposed on all sides to a fierce fire of artillery and small arms; of which the like was scarce ever seen. But the Prussian artillery performed wonders on this occasion. It was of such signal service in supporting the march of their infantry, that the enemy's cannon were soon silenced.

Nothing could excel their bravery and gallant resistance made by the Austrians during the whole engagement. But, they were at length, though with great difficulty, obliged to give way. They rallied all their forces about Leuthen, which was defended on all sides by entrenchments and redoubts; and maintained the battle at this place about

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1757.

Attacked
by the
Prussians.

Bravery,
&c. of
both
armies.

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Victory
declares in
favour of
the Prus-
sians.

Pursuit.

Length of
the en-
gagement.

about an hour longer; but were at length forced to yield to fate and to the superior bravery of the Prussian battalions, who repeated their attacks till they became masters of this post. This decided the battle. The Austrians beaten from their last resort fled on every side: and when the village of Leuthen was abandoned, his Prussian Majesty met with no further opposition. Victory having thus declared in favour of the Prussians the pursuit begun. The cavalry and hussars pursued the flying enemy most part of the night, killed many, and brought in many thousand prisoners. The King, on his side, pursued the enemy as far as Lissa, where his army spent the night under arms.

Great generalship and remarkable bravery were shewn on both sides in this battle, which accounts for the length of the contest, and for the extraordinary loss of men. The battle began at two in the afternoon and continued till night. But the line formed by the Austrians was so extensive, that they could quickly replace with fresh troops the loss they sustained. This prevented the Prussian right wing's being employed at the beginning of the action: and this was the reason why the battle did not become general till towards four o'clock, and of being obliged to bring up their small rear-guard. Besides the cavalry at first found it very difficult to engage, being obliged to advance over causeways and felled trees, with which the enemy was covered. But General Ziethen, their commander, delivered them at length out of that difficulty, and found them a way to come into a share of the action; and then they drove all before them.

The

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1757.

The right wing of the Prussian army was commanded by his Majesty in person, and conducted by Prince Maurice of Anhalt-Deffau. The left was committed to the conduct of General Retzow. The whole dispositions were made by his Prussian Majesty, and surpassed every thing he had yet done: and they were as happily executed; otherwise the infantry, which performed wonders, must have been obliged to give way in their Sovereign's presence.

The confusion of the Austrians became so great that, in the pursuit, a cornet of Ziethen's regiment, with a party of ten men only, took, disarmed, and brought 100 Austrians prisoners to the head-quarters. For which gallant action the King promoted him to the rank of a captain, and honoured him with *the order of merit*.

Gallant
action of a
cornet.

Rewarded.

The Austrian army was not only well officered; but it was vastly superior in numbers and strength, consisting of 80,000 men, and a very large train of artillery. The Prussians did not exceed 36,000 horse and foot; with a much inferior artillery. The Austrians had 6000 and upwards slain in battle: had many more wounded: 21,500 were made prisoners, amongst whom were two generals, General O'Donnel dangerously wounded, the Saxon General Count de Nostitz: besides the son of the late Marshal Browne: and 291 officers, many of them field officers: they lost 4000 baggage and ammunition waggons, well filled; 168 cannon * and 51 colours and standards.

Strength of
the Austri-
an army.Of the
Prussians.Loss of the
Austrians.

* Some accounts make them 200 and 241 pieces.

Prince

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1757.

Prince de Lichtenstein was also dangerously wounded; and General Count Luchesi was left dead in the field of battle.

Surprising
disparity.

What exceeds almost all credibility is, the small loss of the Prussians on this memorable and most severe occasion; they had no more than 500 killed, and 2,300 wounded; amongst whom was Major-General Krockow, who was also made prisoner^d. But the account from Vienna of the same action, is so flagrant an instance of misrepresentation, that we cannot but take particular notice of it: This account was contained in a dispatch bearing date the 14th of December, and directed to the ministers of their Imperial Majesties at foreign courts. The substance of which is as follows:

Austrian
account.

“YOU have had, as yet, Sir, but a very imperfect account of the affair on the 5th of December, between the Imperial and Prussian army. As I am persuaded the Prussians will make great boast, and magnify to an extreme degree, their victory over the Austrians, I am glad I have it in my power to assure you, that, except the apparent advantage of having kept the field of battle, and having taken eighteen or twenty field pieces, they obtained none that were any way essential. The consequences of this action will place the matter in a clear light.

“The effusion of blood was, indeed, very great; but, I believe, the result will prove more to the advantage of the Imperial than the Prussian army, by reason, that the loss was near equal;

^d This battle was fought on the 5th of December 1757.

and

and that, if there was a difference with regard to the number of the slain and wounded, it seems to me, that it was in favour of the Imperialists. The Prussians will not gain an inch of ground by this event. They will be obliged to fight a-new, which will only, in the end, weaken them; or they must seek out for winter-quarters.

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1757.

“ Breslau and Leignitz are provided with strong garrisons, and with provisions and ammunition in abundance. The Imperial army, by its position near Schweidnitz, covers that place, secures the communication with Bohemia, and so keeps in awe the Prussian army, that it cannot execute any thing against these two places, otherwise than by citing them to surrender: for to effect any thing real, there would be a necessity of investing and besieging them in form. This is what the King of Prussia is not likely to attempt near an army, which, whatever reinforcement this Prince may receive, will also be reinforced on its side, and will always be superior in number to him, and I dare say, will not fail to equal him in courage. But now I will lay before you a clear and distinct idea of the action of the 5th.

“ It is expedient previously to observe, that it were to be wished, that after the taking of Breslau, the Imperial army had been in a condition to pursue the broken remains of Prince Bevern’s army, to beat or disperse them, and at the same time to march against the King of Prussia, who came to cover a retreat; but the necessary celerity in such a case was not practicable. The Imperial army had suffered much in the action of the 22d of November.

A. D. 1757. vember. The infantry wanted shoes and stockings, which they were under a necessity of being furnished with, before they could set out on their march. The cavalry extremely fatigued, had occasion for rest to recruit their spirits, and it was not till the fourth of this month, that they were in a condition to march against the enemy.

“ This interval of time, which the King of Prussia gained, a time always precious in war, facilitated the assembling of the troops dispersed by the action of the 22d of November, together with the arrival of the numerous garrison of Glogaw, and a part of the heavy artillery of that place; as also, a considerable detachment, as it is pretended, *from Marshal Lehwald's army*: so that by a moderate computation, this Prince's troops might be supposed to amount to 36 or 40,000 men, on the day of battle.

“ The Austrians had in all 50,000 men. They might have insured the victory, if they had had 10,000 less. This can be easily proved. Their army was posted very advantageously by the care and attention of Marshal Daun. The right, extending to the village of Nypern, was covered by ponds. The front was secured by its situation and a numerous artillery, and the left terminated in a village called Luthen. This village being situated in a plain, Marshal Daun, who foresaw that the King of Prussia would direct his main attack on this point, had reinforced it, and covered the flank by five lines disposed behind each other; thus making, like an experienced general, the best advantage of the nature of the ground. It was

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was in this situation that the Austrian generals waited the coming up of the enemy. The Prussians advanced about one in the afternoon, within cannon-shot. The Austrian artillery did such execution, that it immediately threw into confusion the first line of the enemy's infantry, which, with great difficulty was brought again to the charge. Towards three o'clock the fire of the small arms began. The two lines having closed each other, that of the Prussians was every where repulsed, except in the above-mentioned point of attack, where the troops posted on the left, at the first discharge of the Prussian infantry gave way, without firing a shot, turned their backs, and brought after them, in their flight, some troops, and even intire regiments that flanked them. This unforeseen and unexpected accident broke the line, and gave opportunity to the Prussian cavalry to penetrate into the empty space. The disorder was afterwards, in some respect, rectified, and the line being closed by the corps of reserve that advanced, restored the battle, and hindered the left wing, that had been taken in flank, from being intirely defeated. This could not be well effected without losing ground; but it was obstinately disputed, and as the front was successful, the left was supported as much as possible by the detachments sent to it. However, being greatly weakened by the first disorder, and the Prussians still vigorously attacking it, there was a necessity at last of retreating, which was executed in good order, and step by step, such of the enemy as presented themselves being con-

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continually charged. The battle lasted from one till half an hour after four.

“ Though we are not exactly informed of the loss of officers and soldiers, there is reason to presume, that the loss of the Prussians comes not short of ours. A proof of the courage of the Imperial troops may be evinced from their desiring to fight again the next day, when the King of Prussia presented himself with his whole army to attempt the passage of the Schweidnitz.”

Reply of
the Prus-
sians.

To which the Prussians replied :—“ Such is the account which the court of Vienna thought fit to communicate to her ministers at foreign courts ; what credit such ministers deserve is now manifest to all the world, and what must be the situation of a court which is driven to such expedients is equally apparent. The surrender of Breslau, in which was 14,000 of the troops of Austria, besides almost all their ablest generals and officers, is the best possible testimony, that this battle was decisive in favour of the Prussians ; and so far was the Austrian army from covering this capital, as was pretended, that all who escaped, and could not find refuge in the fortified towns, fled in the utmost terror and confusion, not knowing what to do, nor where to repair for safety or protection ; inasmuch that the whole boasted army, the remains of which was still superior to the Prussians on the 14th, was so broken and dispersed before the 26th of December, that it was, in a manner, annihilated.”

The immediate effects of this victory was the surrender of Breslau. His troops, in the heat of their courage, were eager to assault and to attempt this strong city, garrisoned by 14,000 men, by storm; but that method might have been attended with fatal consequences. Therefore his Prussian Majesty abated their ardour, and prevailed with them to hearken to more adviseable measures. He ordered the approaches to be carried on in the usual form. The Prussian army was not prepared to form a siege; it was however necessary that they should not leave behind them such a strong garrison placed by the Austrians in that capital for its defence. They at first took possession of the suburbs called Ohlau, and of the convent of the brothers of charity, and of St. Maurice's church-yard. There they established two batteries, which were soon ready to be played. From thence they carried a parallel within 400 paces of the ditch of the city, advancing towards Schweidnitz gate. One of the first effects of their bombs was the blowing up a tower, situated on the shoulder of a bastion, which served as a magazine of powder; and the explosion made a considerable breach in the ramparts. This happened on the 15th at night, and greatly facilitated the success of the attack. The greatest part of the cannon of the besieged was already dismounted, and the fire of their batteries was, on the 16th, almost entirely ceased. On the 17th the Prussians advanced considerably by sap. On the 18th they erected a new battery on the right of the parallel. On the 19th

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1757.

Breslau be-
sieged.

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1757.

Capitulat-
ed.

Loss.

Lignitz
surrenders.

they were advanced within 140 paces of the ditch, and the breach was considerably augmented: Thus by the ardour of the troops, which the rigour of the season could not abate, the approaches were carried so far as to oblige the enemy to think of surrendering. The besieged had no outwork that covered the body of the place; nor any covered way. The besiegers had turned off the little river Ohlau, and by that means had left the ditch dry; and thus there remained no resource for the enemy to defend themselves with success. They therefore resolved to capitulate, which was done on the 20th. The commanders of the garrison would have stipulated for advantages, but were obliged to submit to the condition of being made prisoners of war, with the whole garrison.

At Breslau 144,000 florins were found in the Austrian military chest, and the magazines were well stocked. Thirty-seven pieces of Prussian cannon, which were lost in the action of the 22d of November, were retaken; and besides the artillery belonging to the place, forty-four pieces of Austrian cannon were found in it.

On the 29th the town of Lignitz surrendered, the garrison of which was suffered to retire, as the number of prisoners was already so great as to render the entertainment of more inconvenient. A considerable magazine of meal and oats, some artillery, and a large quantity of ammunition were secured.

The vigilance of the King of Prussia to improve every advantage is astonishing, for, notwithstanding

ing the deep snow that lay upon the ground, his Majesty marched on the 24th, at break of day, with part of his army and a train of artillery, to Schweidnitz, garrisoned with 7000 men.

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1757.

Schweid-
nitz at-
tacked.

Thus his Prussian Majesty, in a month's time, beat the Imperialists, and their auxiliaries the French; entirely routed the Austrians, and regained all Silesia, except the town of Schweidnitz; about which he formed a blockade, the same day that Breslau capitulated. And at this time the number of his prisoners exceeded the number of his whole army.

Rapidly of
the Prussian
arms.

The siege of Schweidnitz did not prevent other operations in Silesia. The King ordered his troops under the command of Baron Fauqué, to pursue the Austrian fugitives, who, on the 18th, arrived at Freyberg, from whence the enemy was instantly

Freyberg
taken.

dislodged: nor did they make a more vigorous defence at Fredberg, Strigau, Kunersdorff, nor

And other
places.

any of the open towns; but fled precipitately on the first approach of the Prussians. On the 19th four officers and 200 private men were made prisoners, and sixty waggons laden with meal for Schweidnitz taken. The 20th the Baron pursued the enemy as far as Reichenau, and attacked them on the hills near Landshut, where they had halted and intrenched themselves, having received in the morning of that day, a re-inforcement of 2000 men from Liebau, which made them superior in infantry to their pursuers; yet, notwithstanding this superiority, they were driven from their trenches, and pursued through Griffau and Liebau: of which towns the Prussians took possession,

A. D. 1757. and found in them 2000 tons of meal, great quantities of forage, and many thousand bombs, bullets, and granadoes. Thus the mountains of Silesia were entirely scoured, and those of the enemy that escaped driven half naked and starving into the circle of Konigsgratz.

Loss of the
Austrians.

In Upper Silesia, the towns of Jaggendorff, Troppau, Tefsohen, and Strigau, were likewise taken.

The love
of the Eng-
lish for the
King of
Prussia.

These brave actions, so glorious and so rapid, endeared him to the people of England, who had but just before given him up for lost and a prey to his numerous enemies. They loved him; and they beheld him with astonishment and admiration, extricating himself with such activity and gallantry, out of so many and great difficulties; and every man, at that time said, "It was a pity so brave a monarch should be unsupported, or permitted to be crushed by such a powerful, yet cowardly confederacy." So warm were the whole people in his favour, and so eager to shew all testimonies of their good wishes to his cause, that they celebrated his birth-day with marks of affection, equal to those they give to their own Sovereign, on those joyous occasions.

The Prince of Brunswick, after his retreat from Zell, which was occasioned chiefly by the pontoons not arriving at the place appointed in the well-regulated plan^e, that General had ordered to

^e The pontoons were ordered to be marched to Bey, and two bridges to be layed there. Lieutenant-General Spoerke was ordered to pass over his irregulars, his grenadiers, and his work-men, to make directly a *tete du pont*, to march over his de-

to be executed for a coup de main upon that city, having established his head-quarters at Ultzen, received intelligence, that the bridge, which the enemy had broke down at Zell was repaired, and that M. Broglio, with a large body of cavalry, had passed the Aller, to the right, and that other bodies had passed the same river below; so that an attack might be instantly expected. Therefore Lieutenant General Spoerke, and the Major General Steplin and Gilse were detached the same night^f, with five battalions and as many squadrons, to observe the motions of the enemy. These were next day reinforced with four battalions and four squadrons. But no action ensued: the motions of the French parties being no more than a feint, to favour an escort of waggons, laden with baggage, which M. de Richelieu had detached from his army into the interior part of the country, for greater security. So that as soon as the Hanoverian parties appeared Broglio and the

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1757.

Motions of
both ar-
mies about
Zell.

detachment, and the second line was under arms, to be ready when sent for. At the same time Lieutenant-General Oberg, with two battalions and eight squadrons, was ordered to march to the right of Zell and Helen, and there to make all the shew he could of passing, to fire away, and to make it appear serious. Major-General Isenberg, with three battalions and two squadrons, was ordered to do the same at Laethensen, on the left of Zell, and Major-General Kilmansegge was to try to force into Zell, with two battalions under his command, and to get possession of the town, on the first appearance of the enemy's abandoning it; Prince Ferdinand intending to march the army over the bridges at the same time, and to have attacked the enemy on their left flank.

^f Of the 23d of December.

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1757.

other French parties returned to their posts at Zell.

A view of
the British
councils
about this
time.

In regard to
Hanover.

Infidious
conduct of
the Dutch
towards
Great Bri-
tain.

Having pursued the wars in Germany all the rigour of the season, and the necessities of the armies, both the victorious and the defeated, obliging them to retire out of the field, to refresh and recruit themselves in winter quarters; let us change the scene, and view the transactions of the British ministry.

We have informed you that the army of observation was put again in motion, and that the re-suming of their arms was justified by the notorious infraction of the capitulation of Closter-Seven by the French. This was approved of and advised by the British court with promise of support.

The Dutch, under the professions of friendship for Great Britain, contributed greatly to facilitate the operations of the French, by granting them a free passage through Namur and Maestricht, for provisions, ammunition and artillery. A conduct highly prejudicial to the interest of our allies, and contrary to the laws of neutrality, under which they claimed great advantages from this nation. Our court were justly displeased with their High and Mightinesses for the facility, with which they yielded to this demand of the French Monarch; and strongly remonstrated against a concession to our enemies, that was so manifestly in their favour. But where inclination, or interest bends, there never wants an excuse. Inability to resist a powerful neighbour, was pleaded as a sufficient reason for them to acquiesce in the peremptory demand

mand of a hostile nation, from whom they expected to reap great commercial profits: and a plea of poverty was invented to cover an unwillingness to put their republic into a state of defence and respect. This was only a specimen of that attachment and partiality, which the Dutch shewed towards France, during the whole war. They pleaded necessity or conveniency for every thing, that the enemy could wish to have them do or to connive at.

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This was soon exemplified in that tameness and indifference, with which they saw France take possession of Nieuport and Ostend, delivered to them by the heiress of the house of Austria, in defiance of treaties, of which the Republic were guarantees, for their own security, against the ambition of France. So that both duty and interest required their concurrence with Great Britain to prevent, as far as in their power, the surrender of those two sea ports and barrier towns, into the hands of the common enemy^s.

Favours
France.

Colonel

^s On the 6th of July Count Colloredo, envoy-extraordinary from the Empress Queen of Hungary, set out for Vienna without taking leave: the letter he wrote on this occasion was as follows;

My Lord, &c.

“ His Britannic Majesty having thought proper to espouse the cause of the enemies of my court and its allies, in the present situation of things, I have just now received my recall, and purpose to be gone as soon as possible. I shall take M. de Lohzem with me; and I desire that your excellency would

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1757.

Remon-
strance a-
gainst it by
Colonel
Yorke.

Colonel Yorke, his Majesty's plenipotentiary at the Hague, on the 28th of November, endeavoured to make them sensible of the danger and injustice of remaining indifferent on such an event; that threatened to defeat all the advantages gained by the treaty of Utrecht; and to spirit them up to a vigorous resolution to interpose, and at least to remonstrate against such open violations of that treaty.—' Considering, says the Colonel, the critical situation, which Europe has been in, during the course of this year, in consequence of measures concerted to embroil all Europe, the King of Great Britain was willing to flatter himself, that the courts of Vienna and Versailles, out of regard to the circumspect conduct observed by your High Mightinesses, would have at least, in-
be pleased to grant us the necessary passports for our baggage and attendants.

" It was with the greatest regret I beheld the causes of my recal growing up; and I can assure your excellency, that I leave this court with the deepest sense of the many favours I have received. I am particularly sensible of the civilities which your excellency hath shewn me: I shall always retain a grateful remembrance thereof; and I have the honour to be, with the utmost consideration, &c."

To this letter it was answered. " That the King received with astonishment the news of the minister's recal; and that he looked upon this step as a consequence of the alliance, which his sovereign had contracted with his Majesty's natural enemy, the French King; that in the mean while he had given orders to Mr. Keith, his minister at Vienna, and Mr. Ayrolles, his resident at Brussels, to quit those courts immediately."

formed

formed you of the changes they have thought proper to make in the Austrian Netherlands.

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‘ It was with the utmost surprize the King heard that, without any previous consent from your High Mightinesses, and almost without giving you any notice, the court of Vienna had thought proper to put the towns of Ostend and Nieuport into the hands of French troops, and to withdraw her own, as well as her artillery and stores, whilst France continues to send thither a formidable quantity of both.

‘ The conduct of the court of Vienna towards his Majesty, is indeed so unmerited, and so extraordinary, that it is difficult to find words to express it: but whatever fallacious pretexts she may have made use of to palliate her behaviour towards England, it doth not appear that they can be extended so far as to excuse the infringement, in concert with France, of the most solemn treaties between her and your High and Mightinesses.

‘ The King never doubted that your High Mightinesses would have made proper representations to the two courts, newly allied, to demonstrate the injustice of such a proceeding, and the danger that might afterwards result from it.

‘ Your High Mightinesses will have perceived, that your silence on the first step encouraged the two courts, newly allied, to attempt others: and who can say, where they will stop? the pretext, at first, was, the need which the Empress Queen stood in of the troops for the war kindled in the Empire,

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Empire, and the necessity of providing for the safety of those important places, and afterwards of their imaginary danger from England.

‘ But high and mighty Lords! it is but too evident, that the powers, who have taken these measures in concert, have other projects in view, and have made new regulations, with regard to that country, which cannot but alarm the neighbouring states.

‘ The late demand made to your High and Mightinesses, of a passage for a large train of war-like implements, through some of the barrier towns, in order to be sent to Ostend and Nieuport, could not fail to awake the King’s attention. The sincere friendship and parity of interests of Great Britain and Holland, require that they should no longer keep silence, least, in the issue, it should be considered as a tacit consent, and as a relinquishment of all our rights.

‘ The King commands me therefore to recal to your High and Mightinesses, the two-fold right you have acquired, to keep the Austrian Netherlands under the government of the House of Austria, and that no other has a title to make the least alteration therein, without the consent of your High and Mightinesses, unless the new allies have resolved to set aside all prior treaties, and, at pleasure, to dispose of every thing, that may suit their private interest.

‘ In the treaty between your High and Mightinesses and the crown of France, signed at Utrecht, on the 11th of April 1713, in the fifteenth article,
are

are these words: " It is also agreed, that no
 " province, fort, town or city of the said Nether-
 " lands, or of those which are given up by his Ca-
 " tholic Majesty, shall ever be ceded, transferred
 " or given, or shall ever devolve, to the crown
 " of France, or any Prince or Princess, of the
 " house or line of France, either by virtue of any
 " gift, exchange, marriage contract, succession by
 " will, or by any other title whatever, to the
 " power and authority of the most Christian King,
 " or of any Prince or Princess of the house or
 " line of France."

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' In the barrier treaty these very stipulations are repeated, in the first article: " His Imperial and
 " Catholic Majesty promises and engages that no
 " province, city, town, fortress or territory of
 " the said country shall be ceded, transferred,
 " given or devolve to the crown of France, or to
 " any other but the succession of the German do-
 " minions of the house of Austria, either by do-
 " nation, sale, exchange, marriage-contract, he-
 " ritage, testamentary succession, nor under any
 " other pretext whatsoever; so that no province,
 " town, fortress or territory, of the said Nether-
 " lands shall ever be subject to any other prince,
 " but to the successor of the states of the house of
 " Austria alone, excepting what has been yielded
 " by the present treaty to the said Lords of the
 " States General."

' A bare reading of these two articles, is suf-
 ficient to evince all that I have just represented to
 your High and Mightinesses; and whatever pre-
 text

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text the courts of Vienna and Versailles may alledge, to cover the infraction of these treaties, the thing remains nevertheless evident; whilst these two courts are unable to prove, that the towns of Ostend and Nieuport are not actually in the power of France. If their designs are just, or agreeable to these treaties, they will, doubtless, not scruple, in the least, to make your High and Mightinesses easy on that head, by openly explaining themselves to a quiet and pacific neighbour, and by giving you indisputable proofs of their intentions to fulfil the stipulations of the said two treaties, with regard to the Netherlands.

‘ The King hath so much confidence in the good sense, prudence and friendship of your High and Mightinesses, that he makes not the least doubt of your taking the most efficacious measures to clear up an affair of such importance, and of your being pleased, in concert with his Majesty, to watch over the fate of a country, whose situation, and independence have, for more than a century, been regarded, as one of the principal supports of your liberty and commerce.’

The Dutch
alarmed.

This remonstrance, enforced greatly by the apprehensions the Dutch patriots entertained of the impending danger from Embden, which was also possessed by the French, on the other side of their republic, worked powerfully amongst the States of Holland. The most sensible, and some of the most powerful members, began to express their uneasiness, by remonstrances, full of zeal for the liberty and independence of their country. But
the

the French faction in their government prevailed; and a way was found to dissipate all their fears and jealousies, to make them disregard the advice of Great Britain, by a declaration from the French minister, of the good and upright intentions of the King his master, towards their High and Mightinesses, with assurance of security, not only from insult from the French troops; but of protection from any others; to which he said they were more in danger to be exposed, on account of their observance of the neutrality. A most glaring instance of the insufficiency of treaties and guarantees, to secure and perpetuate the best conditions of peace! What could be more firmly stipulated by the barrier treaty, and the treaty of Utrecht? What could be devised on the continent to stop the torrent of French ambition for ever invading and encroaching upon Holland and Germany, better than a strong barrier? What could prevent France entering the united provinces, if the barrier should be destroyed? What could be more solemnly engaged than by the Dutch to guarantee, to exert the utmost of their strength to maintain, that barrier against all attempts of the French? Yet, you see the two principal sea-ports within that barrier, which cost so dear, so many millions in money, and so many thousand lives to obtain it, for the sole benefit of Austria and Holland, was wantonly given into the possession of France, to over-awe and prevent the Dutch taking part in the war with Great Britain, which had saved both Austria and Holland from destruction, and

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Yield to
the French.Insufficien-
cy of trea-
ties.

A. D. and beheld with indifferency by the Dutch, whose
 1757. very existence depends upon the friendship of
 Great Britain, and a coercion of the power of
 France.

Spain's
 conduct.

Spain, during all this summer, after Mr. PITT resumed the seals, behaved with more decency towards the English nation: though their councils were very much suspected of an inclination to favour the interest of France; and the States of Italy were kept in awe by the cruizers sent from Gibraltar, up the Streights. But, if possible, it was good policy to give them no foundation of a quarrel with us.

In this situation of Europe, the time approached for the meeting of the British parliament; which was summoned to do business on the first of December. But as the business of this session does most properly relate to the next year, we shall not touch upon any affairs or matters done in either house of parliament, till we have summed up the memorable contents of the present year, and given an account of the ships taken on both sides.

A review
 of the tran-
 sactions of
 this year.

In what light posterity will view the transactions of the year 1757, is uncertain; they appear to us, that live at the time, and know them to be facts, in a marvellous light. It is scarce credible, what we have seen atchieved, and what we have seen miscarried. The space of a single year never exhibited, on the scene of a single country, never contained so many striking events, never displayed so many revolutions of fortune, as those we have
 seen

In Germa-
 ny.

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1757.

seen in Germany. Revolutions! not only beyond the most sanguine expectations; but far beyond what the most sagacious foresight, reasoning from experience and the nature of things, could possibly have imagined. Behold, in the beginning of the year the King of Prussia was triumphant; the whole power of the Austrians was totally defeated, and their hopes were utterly ruined.—Suddenly the Austrian affairs were re-established, their armies victorious, and the King of Prussia defeated, abandoned by his allies; surrounded by his enemies, and reduced to the very brink of despair.—He rises and triumphs again, beyond all hopes, and defeats and levels to the ground the united power of France, Austria and the Empire.—Forty thousand Hanoverians, a whole army, submit to 80,000 French, and are only *not* prisoners of war: the French become possessors of all the country between the Weser and the Elbe: yet these same Hanoverians resume their arms; and recover their country. Within this year there have been 400,000 men in action. Six pitched battles have been fought. Three great armies demolished. The French army of 80,000 men reduced and vanquished without fighting. The Russians victorious, yet flying, as if they had been vanquished. A confederacy of the five greatest powers in Europe, to reduce one small potentate: all the strength of those powers exerted and baffled in one single campaign by the King of Prussia.

Change the scene to Great Britain: We see the British flag insulted, and the laws of nations trod upon

In the British dominions.

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1757.

In East
India.

upon by Spain, in favour of France, with impunity. A great fleet and army returning from Rochefort without attempting to land on the continent, where there was neither fleet nor army sufficient to withstand their force. All the northern provinces in America left exposed to the enemy. The troops, that should have defended them, transported to be exercised at Halifax, while the French ravaged and conquered what they pleased. A fleet and army, that cost the nation upwards of a million, to hold a council of war in Nova Scotia; while the French, with a few Indians, were conquering all before them: so that the British glory seemed to sink in every place, except where those unparalleled military achievements were performed in the east. In Bengal, Clive upheld his country's fame for feats of arms. With less than 3000 men he defeated upwards of 40,000 Moors and French: he recovered our settlements; ruined the French in those parts; delivered the natives of Bengal, &c. from a tyrant, and placed a Nabob upon the throne; he even conquered that extensive, populous, rich kingdom with less force, and in less time, than an insignificant fortress has been reduced in Germany. In the other parts of East India our people were neglected, and not in a condition to face the enemy in the field; while the French were considerably reinforced from Europe, and preparing to give the last stroke to our trade and interest on the coast of Coromandel. To which the conquest of Visagapatam, by M. Bussy, was only a prelude.

The captures, in the course of this year, contributed greatly to weaken and to impoverish the enemy, and to complete the ruin of their navigation and trade. But it must be confessed, that the enemy were extremely diligent, and, considering our vast superiority at sea, their privateers performed wonders, and did our commerce considerable damage, by interrupting our navigation, making many prizes, and raising the premium of insurance to a most excessive height, which became an intolerable burden upon our manufactures and merchandize.—The number of ships taken from the French, and laden with French property, were 364, of which 115 were considerable privateers and armed merchantmen; carrying 1460 guns, and upwards of ten thousand seamen. The ships taken by the French from the subjects of Great Britain, greatly exceeded this number, and amounted to 571 great and small vessels. But they were neither so full of men, nor so well armed with cannon as the French.

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1757.

Captures.

Made by
the Eng-
lish.By the
French.

Amongst the French prizes we find several valuable cargoes, as well as stout privateers. The most remarkable, both as to their contents, and to their defence, were, the Pondicherry, an East Indiaman, burden 1000 tons, taken by the Dover man of war, after a resolute engagement of about an hour, in which her second captain and five men were killed:—The Bien Acquis, carrying 30 soldiers, 1346 casks of flour, 60 barrels of gun-powder, six pieces of heavy cannon,

Remark-
able prizes
and ac-
tions.

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60 bombs and bomb-shells, ammunition, soldiers-cloaths, &c. was taken by the Tyger privateer of Bristol.—The Esperance and the Nom de Dieu, laden on the same account, both for the Mississippi:—The Grand Biche, carrying 22 nine pounders on one deck, and the Henry, laden with soldiers and naval stores for Louisbourg:—The Invincible privateer of St. Maloes, which mounted 24 guns, nine pounders, shipped 286 men, and engaged his Majesty's ship unicorn two hours and a half; during the action the captain was killed, but Lieutenant Clements fought the ship till he obliged the Frenchman to strike. The privateer had near fifty killed and wounded, the Unicorn had no more than the boatswain, armorer and a marine killed, and five men wounded:—The Mount Osizer privateer of 20 guns, nine pounders, which, after striking to the Tartar, had the assurance to resume their arms and to board their conqueror. But they paid dearly for their treachery, six and thirty being killed and many of them wounded:—The Renomée, burden 350 tons, laden chiefly with pork, flour and 200 muskets; and the Superbe, burden 750 tons, laden with bale goods, warlike stores, provisions and 242 officers and soldiers, 240 barrels of powder, 320 muskets and bayonets:—The Queen of Angels, a Domingoman, of 18 guns, valued two millions of livres:—The Duke de Aquitane^h, an East

^h This ship had landed her cargo, which was very rich, at Lisbon some months before; and was now fitted out as a man of

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East India ship, of 1500 tons, mounting 50 guns, 18 pounders, and carrying 493 men; she fought his Majesty's ships *Eagle* and *Medway*, very briskly for three quarters of an hour, and then struck her colours, having lost 50 men killed and 22 dangerously wounded, besides many more, that were hurt. All her masts, sails and rigging were so shattered, that they broke away and fell overboard. The loss on our side was ten men killed and 32 wounded on board the *Eagle*, the *Medway*, which was employed only in raking the enemy, had no more than ten men wounded:—The *Duc d'Aquillain* privateer, of 24 nine pounders and two four pounders, each large gun weighing 300lb. heavier than the *Tartar's*, was taken by his Majesty's ship *Tartar*, Captain Lockhart, off the Isle of Wight, after an engagement of one hour and twelve minutes. The *Tartar* fired 42 broadsides, and killed and wounded 50 of the enemy, with the loss of only four killed and one wounded:—The *Aquillon*, a French man of war, of 48 guns and 450 men, maintained a running fight for two hours with the *Antelope*ⁱ, and then was forced upon the rocks in the north part of Hodierne Bay, where she was irrecoverably lost:—The *Melampe* privateer of Bayone, of 700 tons, 36 guns and 320 men, taken after an engagement of war, with orders to cruise off the rock of Lisbon, to intercept the *Mermaid*, a 20 gun English frigate, expected to sail from that port in a few days.

ⁱ The *Antelope* had three men killed and thirteen wounded.

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ment of three hours, by his Majesty's ship *Tartar*, of 28 guns and 200 men, Captain Lockhart. —And the *Hermoine* ^k French frigate, of 26 thirteen pounders and two nine pounders, struck to Captain Elliot, of his Majesty's ship *Huffar*, built of fir; who also, about the same time, sunk a large French two decker, without being able to save a man.

Let us not conclude the annals of this year without recording the gallant action of Peter Murray, the boatswain of the *St. George* from Smyrna, richly laden, and taken by the *Bien Aime*, a French privateer. Peter Murray and three sailors belonging to the *St. George*, were left on board the prize, and seventeen Frenchmen were put on

^k On board the *Hermione* were some of the *Tilbury*'s people, who greatly praised the humanity of the inhabitants of the little fishing town, near the place where they were wrecked: who not only concealed them from the barbarous savages, but supplied them with all necessaries they could spare.—An example, that greatly upbraided their mother country, where at this very time, the English prisoners were most cruelly treated, according to the account of Captain Clarke, of the *Exeter*, published in the London papers, and dated *Fischamp* in Normandy, July 6. “We both live worse, says he, and lie worse than the hogs do in England: we lie on flint pavement, and have but a pound of straw each man to spread under us, and nothing but the roof of the house and heavens to cover us. Our living is most miserably bad; we have nothing but bread allowed for breakfast, and at dinner a quarter of a pound of beef a man, boiled all to-pieces for soup, and some musty cyder to drink; at supper we have bread, water, and green cale boiled up together.” And this was better treatment, than some met with in Old France.

board

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1757.

board to navigate her to Marseilles. In the passage Peter found means to secure the arms, and then, by confining some, wounding others, and obliging the rest to assist him, he, with his three Englishmen, retook possession of the ship, without killing one man, and carried her safe into the port of Barcelona¹.—Neither ought we to pass over in silence the engagement of his Majesty's ship Southampton, Captain Gilchrist, with five French privateers, off the Isle of Wight. Two of the privateers were of equal force with the Southampton. The captain fought them almost three hours, one hour of which time was between two fires. In this situation his men behaved so gallantly, that, though it was not in his

¹ The Mills of Hull, Mr. Claude, master, from Virginia, was taken off of Nantakett-shoals, in October 1756, by a French privateer from Louisbourg, of which ship Captain Zachariah Norman, of the Porter, of Liverpool, gave the following account in August last. "The Frenchmen took out the master and most of the crew, leaving the mate, William Lawson, second mate, carpenter, and two or three more Englishmen on board, along with thirty-two Frenchmen, with an intent to send her to Louisbourg. By distress of weather they were beat off the coast, and having exhausted all the provisions, even till they were obliged to eat the cat and dog, a sharke's tail that was nailed on the vessel's stern, a horse hide, designed to preserve the rigging when gauled, and fowls dung fried in oil, they resigned, in December, the ship to the hands of the English, who carried her into Placentia-harbour in Newfoundland, having then little or no water left, and in the utmost distress for all necessaries of life."

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power to bring them into port, he entirely silenced one of them, and obliged the other to drop astern of her comrade, Captain Gilchrist's ship having received eight dangerous shot between wind and water; ten men killed, fourteen mortally wounded, and as many rendered incapable of their service; he was not in a condition to pursue, and therefore put into Weymouth to repair damages, and to recruit.

There were several other gallant achievements by our naval commanders, whose accounts not being transmitted to England till the next year, will more properly come within the contents of the following book.



THE



THE
GENERAL HISTORY
OF THE
LATE WAR.

BOOK III.

Containing the several expeditions against the coast of France ; and the coast of Africa. The conquests of Senegal, Goree, Louisbourg, Cape Breton, and of several forts in North America. The success of the army of Observation, under the command of Prince Ferdinand. Great Britain's connections with Prussia. The campaign in Germany between the King of Prussia and the Imperialists, Austrians, Russians, French and Swedes. The state of the war in East India : and the success of our naval power against the French, during the year 1758.

THE inactivity and disgraces of the last campaign, both in America and on the coast of France, were not less dissatisfactory to the nation, than the miscarriages in the preceeding year : but their fears were somewhat relieved by the good opinion the generality of the people en-

A. D.
1758.
Domestic
affairs.

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1758.

tertaind of Mr. PITT, and with the expectation that the time was at hand, when delinquents would be brought to punishment, and the service both by sea and land would be put into better hands.

Sentiments
upon the
late expe-
dition.

The patriots could not be silent upon the occasion, “ It has, said they, been the great misfortune of Britain to have the grand business of the nation retarded at home by party debates, and the success of her arms abroad frustrated by tame assemblies and councils of war. When a commander in chief holds such councils to deliberate whether, or not, he shall carry his orders into execution, there is certainly great room to entertain suspicions of his conduct.—From such cautious proceedings, we may be led to conclude, That he is either afraid of doing his duty ; or that he has received some secret counter-orders to warrant his inactivity : and that, therefore, he chuses to screen himself under the resolutions of a council of war, as a colourable pretext for not pursuing his public and visible orders.

“ Indeed it may be prudent, in a general or admiral, to advise with his officers about the particular means of executing his orders ; but whether it is adviseable to execute them, or not, ought to be the determination of his own judgment. For, it is easy to conceive, that, if a commander in chief intimates his inclination to the inferior officers, he will find no great difficulty to procure a majority to acquiesce in his opinion. Besides, the very calling a council of war, to deliberate whether he shall execute his orders, or not, is a
suffi-

sufficient intimation, that he is inclined to pacific or inactive measures; and, in such a case, no doubt, the inferior officers will not fail to adapt their advice, to the general disposition; for, few are animated with such enthusiastic valour, as to give their votes for braving the dangers of war, when their general affords them so handsome a plea for keeping out of harm's-way.

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“ If the mysterious reasons are not unravelled, which induced the conductors of the late expedition (against Rochefort) to return without attempting to perform the intended service, we can never hope to succeed in any future undertaking. Part of their orders have been inserted in the Gazette, for public information and satisfaction: and the publication of them does honour to the secretary, who subscribed them. We are not now under the administration of a minister, who will countenance falsehood, or seek to palliate misconduct, or sacrifice *innocent blood* to their own safety.

“ We are told, in the Gazette, openly and ingenuously, that *no attempt had been made to land*: and as they were bound by their orders, to make a descent, if practicable, they have certainly acted in direct breach of their duty, if, by their delays and deliberations, they rendered that impracticable, which might have been originally feasible.

“ It is disagreeable to reflect, that England must once more be disturbed with the melancholy parade of a court-martial; for frequent courts-martial are certain indications of the decline of
military

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military virtue. But it is to be hoped that this extraordinary instance of ill-conduct will undergo the cognizance of a higher judicatory; and that the parliament will inspect into this mysterious transaction.

“As the meeting of that great assembly is near at hand, it is much to be wished, that instead of wasting our time in vague conjectures, and ineffectual exclamations, we would apply ourselves to make remonstrances to our several representatives, and earnestly intreat them seriously and vigorously to investigate the cause of this shameful event, by means of a national enquiry. Such an application from their constituents will animate their zeal: and when they meet in parliament may no party divisions distract their councils. Such personal dissensions are always prejudicial to the nation, but they would now be immediately fatal.

“No parliament ever assembled under such critical circumstances. The kingdom has this year expended above eight millions and a half, only to purchase losses and disgrace.—Fresh supplies, and large ones too, must be raised for the service of the next year: and can it be supposed that, in the present declining state of the public credit, people will be forward to contribute, unless past injuries are punished, and they perceive a disposition towards future amendment.

“The fate of the nation will probably depend on the operations of the ensuing sessions. Let the dark schemes, which have baffled the hopes
of

of the public, and frustrated the spirited and well-directed efforts of a patriotic ministry be dragged into light. The parliamentary enquiry will now be reversed: instead of defending the people against the abuses of the ministry, we hope that they will vindicate the ministry for the sake of the people."

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1758.

Such was the language, such the wishes and desires of the nation. And the minister could not help, on a very solemn occasion, some time after, declaring, "That he believed there was a determined resolution, both in the naval and military commanders, against any vigorous exertion of the national power in the service of their country!" He affirmed, "That, though his Majesty appeared ready to embrace every measure proposed by his ministers, for the honour and interest of his British dominions; yet scarce a man could be found, with whom the execution of any one plan, in which there was the least appearance of any danger, could, with confidence, be trusted." He particularized the inactivity of one gentleman in North America, from whom the nation had conceived great expectations. He complained, "That this n— commander had expressed the most contemptuous disregard for the civil power, from which he derived his authority, by neglecting to transmit, for a considerable length of time, any other advice of his proceedings, but what appeared on a written scrap of paper." He observed, "That with a force by sea and land, greater than ever the nation had hitherto maintained,

Concern-
ing the
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ders by sea
and land.

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tained, with a King and ministry ardently desirous of redeeming her glory, succouring her allies and promoting her true interest, a shameful dislike to service every where prevailed, and few seemed affected with any other zeal, than that of aspiring to the highest posts, and grasping the largest salaries."

In the heat of these complaints the parliament met, and his Majesty opened the session^m with this most gracious speech :

His Majesty's
speech.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

IT would have given me the greatest pleasure to have acquainted you, at the opening of this session, that our success in carrying on the war had been equal to the justice of our cause, and the extent and vigour of the measures formed for that purpose.

I have the firmest confidence, that the spirit and bravery of this nation, so renowned in all times, and which have formerly surmounted so many difficulties, are not to be abated by some disappointments. These, I trust, by the blessing of God, and your zeal and ardour for my honour, and the welfare of your country, may be retrieved. It is my fixt resolution to apply my utmost efforts for the security of my kingdoms, and for the recovery and protection of the possessions and rights of my crown and subjects in America, and elsewhere; as well by the strongest exertion of our

^m On the 1st of December 1757.

naval force, as by all other methods. Another great object, which I have at heart is the preservation of the Protestant religion, and the liberties of Europe; and in that view to adhere to, and encourage my allies.

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For this cause, I shall decline no inconveniences; and, in this cause, I earnestly desire your hearty concurrence, and vigorous assistance. The late signal success in Germany has given a happy turn to affairs, which it is incumbent upon us to improve; and, in this critical conjuncture, the eyes of all Europe are upon you. In particular, I must recommend it to you, that my good brother and ally the King of Prussia, may be supported in such a manner, as his magnanimity and active zeal for the common cause deserve.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

It gives me the utmost concern, that the large supplies, which you have already granted for carrying on the war, have not produced all the good effects we had reason to hope for. But I have so great a reliance on your wisdom, as not to doubt of your perseverance. I only desire such supplies as shall be necessary for the public service; and, to that end, have ordered the proper estimates to be laid before you. You may depend upon it, that the best and most faithful œconomy shall be used.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

I have had such ample experience of the loyalty and good affections of my faithful subjects towards

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wards me, my family, and government, in all circumstances, that I am confident they are not to be shaken. But I cannot avoid taking notice of that spirit of disorder, which has shewn itself amongst the common people, in some parts of the kingdomⁿ. Let me recommend it to you, to do your part in discouraging and suppressing such abuses, and for maintaining the laws, and lawful authority. If any thing shall be found wanting, to explain or enforce what may have been misunderstood or misrepresented, I am persuaded it will not escape your attention.

Nothing can be so conducive to the defence of all that is dear to us, as well as for reducing our enemies to reason, as union and harmony amongst ourselves.

Remarks.

It is very evident, in this speech, that there was no thoughts of a parliamentary enquiry into the conduct of the commanders, either in Europe or America, as the people expected, and ardently desired. That was removed, with a promise of more activity, both by sea and land, in future measures and operations. Here also we may discover a settled resolution in the cabinet, to assist our German allies heartily and vigorously. Yet the voice of the Sovereign was never received with more unanimity by both houses of parlia-

ⁿ Occasioned by a scarcity, and the engrossing of bread-corn.

ment ;

ment; nor could any thing exceed the zeal with which they promised ° to assist his Majesty in whatever

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• *The humble address of the Right Honourable the Lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

The concern which you are pleased to express for the disappointments that have unhappily attended some of the measures formed by your Majesty this year, for carrying on the just war, in which we are engaged, is a fresh mark of your paternal regard for the welfare of your people, and for the glory of this kingdom.

The testimony which your Majesty has, at the same time, given to the spirit and bravery of this nation, and the ardent zeal of your parliament, to retrieve these misfortunes, is a proof of the justice done by your royal mind to our principles and sentiments, and the greatest encouragement to persevere in them.

Affected therefore, as we are, with these events, we are not discouraged; but we sincerely promise your Majesty our hearty concurrence, and most vigorous assistance, in accomplishing, under the protection of divine providence, your wise and gracious intentions for our defence and safety at home, and for recovering and securing the rights and possessions of your crown and subjects in America, and elsewhere; particularly by the utmost exertion of that essential part of our strength, your naval force.

The preservation of the Protestant religion, and the liberties of Europe, are never to be forgotten by us. Of this pure religion, and these invaluable liberties, Great Britain has, in all times, been a principal bulwark; and cannot fail to continue so, under your Majesty's auspicious reign.

As

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ever related to his British dominions and interest by sea and land; and also to support the King of Prussia,

As the late signal success in Germany fills us with unfeigned joy, so it animates our hopes to see this glorious cause revive: and we do with equal thankfulness and satisfaction, acknowledge your Majesty's generous declaration, that, for the sake of it, you will decline no inconveniencies.

To defend your Majesty against all your enemies, to support your honour and real interests, and to strengthen your hands, are our indispensable duty. It shall also be our endeavour, to improve this success to the most useful purposes; and to exert ourselves in supporting your good ally the King of Prussia, whose magnanimity and unexampled firmness are so evident to all the world, and of such great utility to the common cause.

We have seen with the utmost abhorrence, that spirit of disorder and riot which has shewn itself of late among the common people. We are sensible that it is inconsistent with all government, and necessary to be reformed and suppressed. Nothing shall be wanting on our part, for this salutary purpose; and to enforce and add strength to the laws and lawful authority, on which the liberty and property of the meanest, as well as of the chief of your subjects depend.

Your Majesty's kind admonition, of the necessity of union and harmony among ourselves, is highly worthy of the common father of your people: we will always have it before our eyes. And we give your Majesty the strongest assurances, that our loyalty and good affections to your Majesty, and your royal family, of which we have, on all occasions, given real proofs, are never to be shaken or diminished. The preservation of your sacred person, the stability of your government, and the continuance of the Protestant succession in your illustrious house, will ever be most dear to us, and essential to the happiness of all your people.

Prussia, and to enable his Majesty vigorously and effectually to improve the advantages gained by the

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The humble address of the House of Commons.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, return your Majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

We beg leave to assure your Majesty, that this house sees, with the deepest concern, the success of your Majesty's arms so unequal to the justice of your cause, and to the extent and vigour of the measures formed for that purpose.

Your faithful commons firmly rely, that, as your Majesty, in your royal justice, has endeavoured to trace the causes of past disappointments, your Majesty will also, in your high wisdom, open better hopes of future prosperities, by invigorating our enterprizes, and animating the attempts of the British arms: and in this confidence, they will chearfully support your Majesty in the utmost efforts for the security of your kingdoms, and for the recovery and protection of the possessions and rights of your crown and subjects in America, and elsewhere; as well by the strongest exertion of your Majesty's naval force, as by all other adequate methods.

Permit us to assure your Majesty, that your faithful commons, excited by zeal for the Protestant cause, and the liberties of Europe, do, with most unfeigned joy, humbly offer their congratulations to your Majesty on the late signal success in Germany; and that they will vigorously and effectually enable your Majesty to improve the happy turn of affairs there, and, in particular, to support your good ally the King of Prussia, in such a manner, as the magnanimity and unexampled efforts of that great Prince, in defence of the religious and civil liberties of Europe deserve and require.

We should be wanting to ourselves and to those we represent, not to acknowledge, with all dutiful gratitude, your Majesty's paternal and seasonable care for the interior tranquillity

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the army of observation, over the French under the Duke de Richelieu ^P.

The lenitives made use of in the front of his Majesty's speech, were not the only means used to stop a parliamentary enquiry into the causes of that miscarriage on the coast of France; but very extraordinary methods had been tried to stop the spirit of addressing, and instructing the members on that singular occasion ^q; till the national heat of resentment evaporated in a court-martial, that did honour to Sir John Mordaunt, and left the public as much in the dark, as they were in before, relative to their apprehensions of the secret cause, and with a bar to all future enquiries into that miscarriage.—It is remarkable, however, that the very same party, which had distinguished themselves by their acrimony, severity and unrelenting justice in the prosecution of Ad-

and safety of your subjects, in having been graciously pleased to recommend to us to do our part for maintaining the laws and lawful authority against that spirit of disorder, which has shewn itself amongst the lower people, in some parts of the kingdom; and we will not fail, in due time, to take into our most serious consideration the properest methods for discouraging and suppressing such abuses, and for preventing the causes of the like mischiefs hereafter.

^P The French were so distressed about this time for money, that they offered eleven and a half per cent. interest for money, by way of loan in England. The Lords of the treasury offered two hundred pounds reward for the discovery of any person concerned therein; it being high treason to assist his Majesty's enemies with money, in time of declared war.

^q See page 357, 358. Vol. II.

miral

miral Byng, for not doing all in his power, on the 20th of May, in the opinion of his judges; were on this occasion, extremely careful how they insinuated any thing to the disadvantage of the commander in chief; were very tender in the prosecution, and admitted his defence in the most favourable light.

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What his Majesty promised, in regard to the security of his kingdoms, the recovery and protection of his American possessions and rights, and the exertion of his naval force; the execution of these promises was not delayed a moment.—The minister was no sooner in possession of the sentiments and resolutions of both houses of parliament; that approved and promised to enable his Majesty to carry on the war, in the manner proposed in his speech, but he set about the work with diligence and vigour; and with this most necessary precaution to attend to such measures first, whose success would naturally facilitate the ulterior operations.

Activity of
the minister.

Domestic security was naturally the first care of the ministry. For which, last year, the legislature had provided a regular and well-disciplined militia. An act carried under Mr. PITT's first administration with some difficulty, and but badly relished by some of the courtiers. It was therefore, no wonder that such a salutary and constitutional measure to enforce this act, was not carried into execution, so as to embody that militia, during the interim of the minister's dismissal. However, Mr. PITT was far from placing the security of

For domestic security.

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these kingdoms in those means, which will ever disgrace his predecessors for their inactivity and timidity. He was resolved that neither fleet nor army should eat the bread of the nation in idleness. And he had the wisdom to plan his operations against the enemy, so as to make them subservient to the great end of self-preservation to his country. He considered the strength and defence of these kingdoms, to consist in, and to depend on, the naval power duly exerted: and he put the whole into employ.

He fixed his thoughts upon the conquest of Louisbourg and Cape Breton, without which it would be impossible to secure the British Empire in that quarter of the world. But he could not be unmindful of the disappointments, that expedition had met with last year; whether by betraying the secrets of the cabinet, or by the misconduct of those employed in the execution of the plan, he had seasonably and judiciously formed for that purpose.

Expedition
against
Louis-
bourg.

The early notice received by the enemy of the intention of the British arms against Louisbourg, had given the French an opportunity to send a force superior to that intended by us against that fortress: the detention of the fleet under Admiral

The list of the English navy at this time stood as follows: 156 line of battle, 118 frigates, from 40 down to 12 guns: 46 bombs, yachts, hulks, &c. in all 320 ships of war. Besides four ships of 74 guns, two of 70, four of 64, six of 36, and ten of 28 guns, upon the stocks, and in great forwardness. The last 16 built of fir, and to carry 12 pounders.

Holbourne,

Holbourne, which enabled the French squadrons to get to their station in that harbour, before his arrival in those seas; and the inactivity of the army ordered against it, as well as of the fleet, after its arrival at Hallifax, suggested the means to prevent a miscarriage, for the future, from the like causes.

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The plan against Louisbourg was revived and carried in council, and all the contingent operations were settled for North America. The fleet and land forces against that important, and chief fortrefs of the French in North America, were adequate to the service. 8000 men were destined to drive the French from the Ohio: and 16,000 men were order'd to reduce Crown Point, and to open a way to the frontiers of Canada. The chief command on the continent of North America, was taken from Lord Loudon, who was superseded by Major General Abercrombie: and the forces both by sea and land, to be sent against Louisbourg, were placed under the sole command of Admiral Boscawen. But the greatest difficulty was to guard against the counter-armaments of the French; whose powerful fleet, at the time they were obliged, last winter, to leave Louisbourg by the inclemency of the climate, had arrived in the ports of Old France in a most sickly feeble condition.

Forces for
this expedition
and
for North
America.

Mr. PITT neither trusted to fidelity, nor secrecy, nor yet to his own vigour and expedition: though the whole month of December was employed for this purpose, in the greatest naval pre-

How
guarded
against
treachery,
&c.

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1758.By block-
ing up the
French
navy.

parations, that had ever been known at this season of the year: so that the expedition fleet against Louisbourg sailed from England on the 19th day of February. For, though the French, at this juncture, had no naval strength nor land force in America, equal to that shipped with Admiral Boscawen, nor any commander of equal capacity and reputation, he judged it necessary to provide ways and means to prevent their sending a superior^s force after him, to retard, obstruct, or perhaps, to defeat his instructions and orders. Therefore, at the same time as the grand expedition was fitting out for North America, Mr. PITT fixed his eye upon the sea ports of France, and stationed two squadrons, in such a judicious manner, as not only to block up the ports of Toulon and Rochefort, where, he had certain intelligence, the French were equipping two fleets for the relief of Louisbourg; but to deter the Spaniards from sending any assistance by their navy^t to the French. The station for interrupting or preventing the Toulon fleet proceeding to North America, was at the Streights mouth: and Admiral Osborn had orders

^s Their navy at this juncture consisted of,
77 line of battle ships,
39 frigates, from 36 to 12 guns each.

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^t The Spanish navy consisted of, 52 line of battle ships, 26 frigates, from 30 to 16 guns; four packet boats of 16 guns, 13 xebèques of 24 guns, four bombs of 12 guns, and four fire ships. But these ships wanted 30,999 seamen to put them to sea: which could not then be found in Spain.

to

to cruize for that purpose, between Cape de Gatt and the Spanish port of Carthagena. A. D. 1758.

The French squadron at Toulon was equipped with great expedition, and sailed under the command of M. de la Clue. But finding the Straits so well guarded with English men of war, and himself too weak to force the passage, he put into Carthagena, with his squadron, either to catch an opportunity to slip by the English fleet; or to be reinforced from Toulon. Accordingly a second squadron, of five ships of the line^u was equipped in that port, to strengthen de la Clue's, blocked up in the harbour of Carthagena. Two of them had slipped into Carthagena. La Clue only waited for the other three. Of which the French Admiral made himself so sure, that he ventured into the offing and cruised for a few days off the mouth of that harbour, that he might be ready to proceed without loss of time. Admiral Osborne kept his station, and placed a frigate, called the Gibraltar, to watch the enemy's motions. At last the other three French men of war took their departure from Toulon, under the command of M. du Quesne, an able officer, and the same, that had done us so much mischief in North America. His instructions were, to join la Clue, to escort him through the Gutt, then to proceed with these three ships to Brest, while la Clue made the best of his way to Louisbourg. Du Quesne was also appointed to sail with the Brest fleet to North

Disap-
pointment
of the
Toulon
squadron.

^u The Foudroyant, 80 guns, the Orphée, 64 guns, the Ori-
flame of 50 guns, and the Pleiade of 24 guns.

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America, and to have the chief command both by sea and land.

The Gibraltar frigate obeyed her orders so punctually, that she fell in with du Quesne's three ships, and led them such a wildgoose chase, that after forty hours pursuit the Frenchmen, at two o'clock on the 27th day of February, in the morning, found themselves in the midst of the English fleet, without being able to come up with her. M. du Quesne, who commanded the Foudroyant, soon perceived his condition, but was afraid to make any signal, lest that should discover him: and at day break Mr. Osborne perceived some strangers, and made them the signal, which as he found they did not answer, but edged off, he fired a few guns at the Foudroyant: but he was rather too far to do any great mischief. On this she made a signal, and the other ships made sail and stood different ways. Mr. Osborne then made the Monmouth's, Swiftsure's, and Hampton-Court's signals to chase the Foudroyant; the Revenge and Berwick to chase L'Orpheus; and Monarque and Montague to chase the other; these last drove her ashore, but somehow or other she got under a bit of a castle. They quitted her on being fired at from thence. The Monmouth, being the best going ship of the fleet, stood for the Foudroyant, and passed close by L'Orpheus, which she did not fire at: but left her to the Revenge, whom she saw gaining on her. A little after five the Monmouth and her chase, having seen the fleet all out of sight, except the Swiftsure, who was so very far astern, that they



CAPTAIN GARDINER.

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they could but just discern her, were so near together that the Monmouth began to fire: at seven they were close together, and then the fire grew terrible. Captain Gardiner said to the officer of a detachment brought from Gibraltar, "Whatever becomes of you and I, this ship will go into Gibraltar." He lay on her quarter within pistol shot, and continued the engagement all the time, as close. A little after nine poor Captain Gardiner fell by a musket ball in the head, but lived insensible till next day. A little after one the Foudroyant struck to the Monmouth; but perceiving another ship coming up, she made a feint weak fire to save her credit. Between nine and ten she shot away the Monmouth's mizen mast, and then gave her three hearty cheers; in ten minutes after down came hers, and the Monmouth returned her cheers as hearty. Soon after down came the main-mast, and then the Monmouth kept so hot a fire with small arms into her, and so desperate a fire with great guns, that the Foudroyant sickened, and the fellows could hardly be kept on the deck.

At first the enemy's fire was much the quickest, but in an hour it slackened, and still got weaker and weaker for the whole action, without any abatement in ours, but rather the contrary. To see them together, nobody could believe it were possible, that the small one could stand an hour against so great and fine ship. Our weight of metal was 24 and 12 pounders, her's from 22 to 42; there was as much difference in the look and size of the two, as between a frigate and a ship of the

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the line. The one had 1000 men and 84 guns, the other 470 and 64 guns. The captain of a privateer taken by the Monmouth had boasted greatly of this ship, and insisted she was not to be taken: she would fight, he said to-day, and to-morrow, and next-day, but never could be taken. This is as gallant an action as ever was performed by a single ship. It is greatly to be lamented, that poor Gardiner did not live to reap the glory of so great an action. He told his people before the engagement, "This ship, says he, must be taken"; she looks to be above our match; but Englishmen

** Extract of a letter from an officer on board the Volunteer privateer, in Gibraltar bay, March 28.*

We arrived here on Sunday. The morning we came in, we had the pleasure to see two of our men of war of 60 guns each (the Monmouth and Revenge) bring in two French men of war, one of 80, the other of 64 guns, the Foudroyant and Orphée.

This, the Foudroyant, is the very ship the French Admiral Galissioniere was in when he met Byng off Minorca. Captain Gardiner, two days before he left this port (in company with Lord R—— B—— and the merchant our agent, with whom I dined yesterday) with great anguish of soul told them, that my Lord A—— had reflected on him, and told him that he was one of the men who had brought disgrace upon the nation, that it touched him excessively, but that it ran strongly in his mind, that he should have an opportunity shortly to convince his lordship, how much he had the honour of the nation at heart, and that he was not culpable. Before he expired, he sent for his first lieutenant, and told him, the last favour he could ask of him was never to give up the ship. The lieutenant told him he never would, and instantly went and nailed the flag to the staff, and stood at it with a brace of pistols, declaring

Englishmen are not to mind that, nor will I quit her while this ship can swim, or I have a soul left alive." The honest tars cheered him, and said they depended on him for victory, and he might depend on them.

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L'Orpheus stood for Carthagen, and the Revenge to prevent her getting in, was obliged to engage her at a great disadvantage; she was so nigh the harbour, that the French ships were all manned on the yards and mast-heads, looking at the action, but dar'd not venture out to her assistance; but let us block them up, and take a ship in sight of their fleet, equal to the party that blocked them up.

In thirty-six minutes after the first fire she struck; but had killed near 120 of our people; among which is the captain of marines, and master, and a lieutenant. Captain Storr was wounded in the leg with a musket ball. The Berwick, indeed, got up time enough to have something in the victory; but had she not done so, the Orpheus acknowledged, it would have been the same thing. The Revenge and Orpheus were not much hurt, that is, the ships themselves; but the other two were greatly damaged, especially the Foudroyant, her fore-mast, though not declaring he would put any man to death who attempted to come near the colours to strike them, until he was dead: in short, it is the bravest action, by all accounts, that has been known in the memory of man. I was on board the Foudroyant the day she came in: all that I will say of her is, That she will be the pride of England, and the shame of France.

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ried, was shot almost to pieces, and her hull was like a sieve on the side the Monmouth engaged her.

Thus was this scheme of relieving Louisbourg frustrated. For M. de la Clue not being in a condition to force a passage, nor to escape the vigilant commander of the English squadron, he took the resolution and the first opportunity, to sail back to Toulon. Where his ships were laid up.

And of the
Rochefort
squadron.

It was then tried what could be done at Rochefort. Six ships of the line and two frigates, with 40 transports carrying 3000 troops, had orders to sail from thence with all expedition to North America. Besides 15 more transports which took in men, provisions and stores, &c. at Bourdeaux, and to be convoyed by certain men of war from the isle of Aix. Sir Edward Hawke, who was charged with this service, made Basque road on the third day of April, with seven ships of the line and three frigates; and at day break discovered a numerous convoy a few leagues to windward. He immediately threw out the signal to chase. Which was obeyed with great cheerfulness by the whole fleet. But the wind baffling, the convoy with three frigates that escorted them got into St. Martins, on the Isle of Rhee, except one brig, which was run ashore and burnt by the Huffer.

Intercept-
ed by Sir
Edward
Hawke.

About four in the afternoon, the same day, the enemy's grand convoy * from Rochefort, escorted

* Of 40 transports, with 3000 men on board.

by

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by the Florissant of 74 guns, the Sphynx 64, the Hardi 64, the Dragon 64, the Warwick 60, and seven frigates, were plainly discovered laying off the Isle of Aix; waiting for the other convoy, which had fled into St. Martin's, and had been ordered to join these off the Isle of Aix^y. But when they found their mistake, and that it was an English squadron running down upon them, then with all the sail they could make, the enemy began to cut and slip their cables, and to run in great confusion. This was about five o'clock, and at six their commodore made off: and many of those ships which fled, were by this time on the mud.

The darkness of the night put an end to the chase: and next morning it was a droll sight to see all the enemy's ships aground, and almost dry, about five miles distant from the English fleet. Besides, many of them, both King's ships and transports were on their broad sides. Admiral Hawke selected the best pilots for that coast, and sent them on board the Intrepid and Medway, with orders to anchor as near as possible to the enemy's ships. When these two ships had got a gun-shot further in they anchored, and sounding a little

^y The Effex of 64 guns, with the Pluto and Proserpine fire ships, ordered to join Admiral Hawke in the Bay, fell in also with 12 sail of transports, escorted by the Galathee, a 22 gun frigate, from Bourdeaux for Quebec. They took the frigate, a letter of marque of 20 guns, and one transport. Two more of which were picked up by the Antelope and the Speedwell sloop. Captain Hume of the Pluto lost his life, as he engaged the letter of marque.

a-head

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a-head at high-water they found but five fathom, of which the tide rises 18 feet: and every expedient that could be invented on shore and on board of the enemy, to lighten and to drag the ships through the soft mud being tried, some of the men of war, that day, by throwing out their ballast, guns and stores, and with the help of boats and launches, that brought them warps from Rochefort, &c. got as far as the mouth of the Charante, and rendered all the endeavours of our Admiral to follow them ineffectual. But our frigates boats cut away about 80 buoys laid on their anchors, and on what they had thrown over-board: therefore, after destroying the new works carrying on at the Isle Madame, which was done next morning by 140 marines, landed under the command of Captain Ewer, the Admiral returned from Basque road.

Disables
the French
at sea.

This disappointment of the enemy's design gave the finishing stroke, and totally defeated their equipments, for the relief of Louisbourg, and for the reinforcement of their army upon the continent of North America. The loss of the guns, stores, &c. and the damage done to their ships, could not be repaired and recovered with any prospect of arriving at their desired ports, in the new world, before it would be too late to do any service.—Which is evident from their not venturing out to sea again.

On the other part, our vigilant and wise minister, having prevented all opposition from Old France to the operations planned against her dominions

minions and proceedings in North America ; and still possessed of the chief strength of the nation by sea and land ; he turned our whole force to such objects as, at once, might secure the British Isles from invasion, and make a diversion in favour of our German allies.

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There were, at this time, some persons of great weight in the administration, who were for making a push in Europe against France, on the side of Germany ; and urged strenuously for a reinforcement of Prince Ferdinand's army, sufficient to enable him to pursue the French, and to take some considerable advantage of their distressed condition : because, it was their argument, Prince Ferdinand would thereby be in a capacity to bring matters to a conclusion ; as that would enable him to carry the war into France itself ; especially, if the efforts by land were well seconded with a diversion on the coast of France, by our navy. But Mr. PITT was so attached to British measures, that he could not be brought, as yet, to acquiesce in this duplicate plan of engaging the French ministry, and to distract their counsels. His plan was to keep our regular forces in a condition to supply the demands of our colonies and settlements in the prosecution of the war, and to protect these kingdoms from all insults : and so to employ our navy, as to protect our coasts, to ruin the navigation and commerce of the enemy, and to weaken the strength of France in Germany.

Argu-
ments for a
German
war.

Another squadron, consisting of the Nassau of 64 guns, the Harwich of 50 guns, and the Rye of

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1758.

Expedition
against
Senegal.

Sails.

Arrives.

of 24 guns, attended by the Swan sloop and two buffes, were dispatched to the coast of Africa, under the command of Captain Marsh, having on board 200 marines, under Major Mason, and a detachment of matrosses, under Captain Walker. By this armament the minister had two things in view; to defend that lucrative trade from the encroachments and depredations of the enemy; who had, in the preceeding years, shewn a very strong propensity to wrest the African coast out of our hands; and to try, if a scheme laid before him by certain merchants of London, to surprize and to drive the French from their settlements on the river Senegal, and from the island of Goree, by which they monopolized^z the gum trade, so necessary and advantageous in our manufactories, was practicable.

This little squadron sailed from Plymouth without noise, and without suspicion, on the 9th of March; and arrived, without any accident or alteration in its strength or condition, off the mouth of the river of Senegal on the 24th of April: but it was the 29th before they could get over the bar; and then not without the loss of the two small vessels, for want of water, which loss of the small craft obliged the commander to land some of the men on the east side of the river, in the Domel country. The enemy with seven vessels, three

^z Before this time the French admitted no nation to trade on this river. They put what price they pleased on gum; sold it all to the Dutch; and the English were obliged to buy it of those brokers, at what price they were content to sell it.

of which were armed with 10 guns each, made a shew of attacking our small craft, and kept a kind of running fire; but were soon repulsed and obliged to retire. Seven hundred marines and seamen being landed, and the artillery got a-shore; the men laid on their arms all night, and were prepared to attack Fort Lewis, the strongest post on that river, situate on an island about 12 miles within the bar; when a flag of truce was hung out, and deputies arrived in our camp from the superior council of Senegal, with articles upon which they offered to capitulate.

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Attacks.

The capitulation was agreed to without much variation. By which the English were put in possession of all the forts, storehouses, vessels, arms, provision, and every thing belonging to the company, upon the river Senegal. All the white people belonging to the Senegal company were allowed to carry away their private effects, and to be sent in six weeks time to Old France. But the merchandize and uncoined treasure were excepted. And the free Mulattoes or Negroes were to enjoy their religion, liberty and effects, and to continue on the spot or remove with their effects, according to their own good liking.

Fort capitulates.

Agreeable to this capitulation, the French soldiers laid down their arms on the 1st of May, and our men entered and took possession of the fort, and of all the vessels in the river; got the keys of the stores, papers, &c. and proceeded to receive the submission of all the settlements up the

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river,

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river, which in general accepted the terms of capitulation.

Import-
ance of this
conquest.

The importance of this conquest is collected from its produce; its benefit to England and its loss to the enemy. At this time the Senegal factory, as called by the French, supplied the company in Old France with about 500 slaves, 4000 hides, 1200 quintals of gum, and 20 quintals of Elephants teeth. To this factory were belonging five more: viz. Galem, which supplied about 600 slaves, 20 quintals of teeth, and fifty marks of gold: Goree, 400 slaves and 2400 hides: Joal 100 slaves, 40 hides and 10 quintals of teeth: Gambia 400 slaves, 200 quintals of wax and 200 quintals of teeth: Bisseaux 250 slaves, 250 quintals of wax, and 250 quintals of teeth.

Peculiar
advan-
tages.

The benefit arising from this conquest to England is manifold. It puts us in possession of the gum trade, and makes us the merchants of that drug, at our own price, to all Europe; which we were obliged to purchase with ready money, and a great balance against us from France and Holland. It also opens new branches of commerce, and establishes the interest and reputation of this kingdom all along the African coast, which was declining before, and must, in a short time, have yielded to the intrigue and power of France.

Loss to
France.

The loss to France was very great. It deprived her of the means of supplying her colonies with slaves. It cut off a considerable branch of those resources, she stood in need of, to support the war. It deprived her of a lucrative traffic in her
own

own manufactures; and obliged her to seek with ready money the merchandize, that had been the produce of her own settlements. Which must both raise the price of French manufactures, and turn the balance of trade against them, in those goods which can't be made and finished without ivory and gum senega^a.

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1758.

While

^a The French African trade, under the title of the Senegal company, was incorporated with the East India company in 1718. The director general for this united company resided on the island Senegal about 12 miles up the river, which is little better than a bank of white sand, about three English miles long, and not more than 400 yards broad. The gums are gathered twice a year, in December and March. They begin to trade in February, before the first gathering, and continue till May; their second trade begins in April, and holds till June. The Moors that sell the gum, are called Auladeihagi, in the Arabick tongue, and Darmemos, in the negroes; their chiefs are called Chems, who lay a duty of an eighth, upon all the gums the French buy. They trade at these places, for 1200 quintals of gum, weighing 450 lb. each. The other goods sold at these two principal ports, are about 300 oxen, and 400 sheep, some ambergrease and ostrich feathers; 50 packs of feathers are worth a quintal of gum. At the neighbouring places of Senegal, they purchase a quantity of millet, with which they feed the negroes, as well those in the company's service, as those they transport; and even sometimes the French were glad of it themselves. When the waters are out, they trade to the adjacent lakes, at some of which they get ebony, at others ivory, peas, hides, and sometimes ambergrease. There are fixed times and seasons for buying salt, for service of the company of Senegal, as well as the curing the hides, and stated times for buying provisions. But the last observation, is the time and season for going over the bar of the river, which is between April and July; after which, the bad season begins, and the waters are out.

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Care of
Germany.

While these expeditions against North America and the coast of Africa were fitting out, and every circumspection taken to secure success, our allies had no room to complain of neglect of their interest and defence. As soon as the parliament met pursuant to their adjournment after Christmas, Mr PITT presented the following message to the house of commons.

GEORGE R.

His Ma-
jesty's mes-
sage.

“**H**IS Majesty having ordered the army, formed last year in his electoral dominions, to be put again into motion from the 28th of November last, and to act with the utmost

The old company of Senegal had a fort at Galam, built in 1700, but was carried away by the rapidity of the river. The new company afterwards built another, a league lower, where they now traded.

They traded chiefly at Galam, in negroes, gold and ivory.

The island of Goree is in the center of the company's settlements, and it is there the slaves are kept, till they have a sufficient number, or till they have ships ready to transport them to their isles.

The river Senegal empties itself into the Atlantic ocean in lat. 16 deg. north. The entrance of it is guarded by several forts, the principal of which is Fort Lewis, built on an island of the same name. The English had formerly settlements here, out of which they were driven by the French, who had engrossed the whole trade from Cape Blanco to the river Gambia, which is near 500 miles. The Dutch were the first who settled at Senegal, and built two forts. The French made themselves masters of them in 1678. In 1692 the English seized them; but next year the French retook them, and had kept them ever since.

vigour

vigour against the common enemy, in concert with his good brother and ally the King of Prussia; and the exhausted and ruined state of that Electorate, and of its revenues, having rendered it impossible for the same to maintain and keep together that army, until the further necessary charge thereof, as well as the more particular measures now concerting for the effectual support of the King of Prussia, can be laid before this house; his Majesty, relying on the constant zeal of his faithful Commons, for the support of the Protestant religion, and of the liberties of Europe, against the dangerous designs of France and her confederates, finds himself, in the mean time, under the absolute necessity of recommending to this house the speedy consideration of such a present supply, as may enable his Majesty, in this critical exigency, to subsist and keep together the said army.”

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In consequence of this message 100,000*l.* was unanimously granted, to be taken immediately out of the supplies of last year unapplied, and to be remitted with all possible dispatch.

How received by the parliament.

However unanimous the senate was in the resolution for this grant; it was said, and justly said, without doors, that this was engaging the nation in a German war; yet there was not that universal dislike; nay there did rather a general inclination appear in all ranks of people to support a measure, which at any other time, and under

By the nation.

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1758.

another administration would have disgusted the whole nation.

Reasons
for Mr.
PITT's ac-
quiescence
to German
measures.

But at this time every one saw, that there was no jobb intended by a German connection. The cause was real: the necessity absolute. The greatest powers in Europe were leagued with our natural enemy, to pull down and ruin our allies and our interest on the continent. England must support Prussia, and defend Hanover, or both must fall: and should they fall under the dominion or influence of France, her power would grow more terrible and dangerous to Great Britain. So that when Mr. PITT saw that these would certainly be the fatal effects, except England should interpose on the behalf of Prussia and Hanover, he was driven to this alternative, either to quit the helm of the administration, which would have been a desertion of his country, when she stood most in need of his wisdom, vigour and integrity, and must have been ruined by falling back into the measures of former administrations; or he must so far acquiesce with such of his Majesty's servants, as were attached to Germanic measures, as to make them subservient to the interest of Great Britain, in the course of her war with France in America.

Here was a strong conflict between the duty, which he owed to his Sovereign, enforced by the apparent ruin of his country's interest on the continent of Europe, and the principles which he had plighted to the people. Mr. PITT had long opposed German measures. He had opposed till he saw

law opposition was vain ; and that it was impossible for him to serve his country in other parts of the world, and to pursue the interest of England with advantage, unless he would sacrifice some points and some opinions to Germany. He further saw, that unanimity could never be established in the King's council, while he adhered to British measures ONLY. He was convinced, that Britain must be inevitably connected with Germany, as long as the same person is King of England and Elector of Hanover.

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When we excluded the family of Stuarts from the throne, we cast our eyes round Europe for a Sovereign : but there was no Prince of the Protestant religion, who had no foreign dominions : What then must we have done ?—have submitted to absolute government, been torn to pieces by a civil war, or chose a King, who had political interests ? It was thought best to chuse the latter, however distinct those interests might be from the good of this nation. If this misfortune was inevitable in its cause, it was impossible to prevent its being the same in its effect. Therefore, the evil of keeping considerable armies in Germany is (in some measure) engrafted in the establishment. Without doubt, it is the wish of all true Englishmen, that the crown had no territory out of this island, that our strength might be kept within it. But secondary causes have disposed of things otherwise ; and how shall we alter them ? Nothing but an alienation of Hanover. For so long as the same person is King of Great Britain

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1758.

and Elector of Hanover, the evil will not be removed.

His maxim.

This channel being unavoidable, the only thing that a patriot minister could do was, what he engaged, to make it serviceable to Britain. A short consideration pointed out the method. It was not to be effected by the puny effort of a parliamentary grant of 100,000*l*. His maxim was, either do nothing, or to do it heartily and effectually.—The attention and troops of France was to be drawn as much as possible that way, to make her employ more troops in Germany, than was consistent with her interest in America, and the support of her marine, in order to furnish fairer opportunities for attacking her settlements abroad, and thereby cut off the resources of her riches and power both by sea and land.

The difficulty laid in filling up this outline, many steps were required before this great end could be accomplished. Since it was impossible to separate Britain from the continent; those engagements entered into^b by the former administration, were to be cemented in a stronger manner. The confederacy against the King of Prussia being too powerful for him, he, in all probability, if not supported by England, would be crushed, as understood in his Majesty's message to the house; and if he fell, Hanover would instantly fall likewise.—The latter was the tender point, and at a peace it must be regained, even at the expence of British conquests.

Reasons
for aiding
our allies.

^b See page 255, 256. Vol. I.

Accord-

According to this system, which, every one knows, was the system of this time, we are treating of, it was the interest of Britain to support the existence of Prussia, and to reinforce the allied army with British troops: therefore, in order to ruin the Gallic scheme, which was, to make a conquest of Hanover, and with that conquest to purchase whatever the superiority of the British navy might require, “the support of Prussia, and the defence of Hanover, became objects of the second importance.”

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The people of England were unanimous in their desires of supporting the King of Prussia: the eclat of his victories had gained their esteem. They demonstrated their regard for him on his birth-day with a solemnity and rejoicings equal to those of the most beloved Sovereign. It was the time, when this vein of zeal was swelled with the warmest blood, that Mr. PITT adopted German measures, conformable to the sense of the nation. He saw it was the present juncture, that would favour a treaty with Prussia: and he was convinced that such a treaty was the only method to distress the French in Germany. This is not alledged to vindicate that treaty, which afterwards we shall see made with Prussia; because we have, just before, explained the political motives, which induced him to sign it, and the views, which he had of drawing an advantage from it; but to shew what a happy concurrence of events there was to warp the people to German measures, and to continue the most favourable opinion of the minister,

Unani-
mous in
support of
Prussia.

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minister, in whose known honesty, vigilance and well-meaning they still reposed unlimited confidence.

Counte-
nanced by
parlia-
ment.

This grant and countenance of the House of Commons, may therefore be said to bring on those close connections with which Great Britain and Prussia soon after were joined by treaty, and the measures taken by the British ministry, in consequence thereof.—This treaty; which was signed at London on the 11th of April 1758, sets forth in the preamble, the intention of that former treaty between their Majesties, signed on the 16th of January 1756, to preserve the general peace of Europe, and of Germany in particular, the hostilities committed in the Empire and against their Majesties and their allies, by the French, and their incitement of other powers, to act in like manner: the burthensome expence that war had brought upon his Prussian Majesty, and the diminution of his revenues, in such of his dominions as were become the seat of war: the mutual resolution of their Majesties, to continue their efforts for reciprocal defence and security, for recovery of their possessions, for the protection of their allies, and the preservation of the liberties of the Germanic body, &c. And then stipulates (1.) That his Britannic Majesty shall pay the sum of 4,000,000 German crowns, which is 670,000 l. of English money to the King of Prussia's agent in London, immediately after the ratifications shall be exchanged; (2.) That his Prussian Majesty shall employ this sum in augmenting and keeping up his

Treaty
with Pruf-
sia.

his forces, which shall act as may be most for the interest of the common cause; and (3.) That neither of the contracting powers shall conclude any peace, make any truce, or enter into any treaty of neutrality, of what kind soever, without the participation of the other^c.

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1758.

By the parties that signed this treaty, it should appear to be carried in the privy council with unanimity. The house of parliament approved of this convention, when it was laid before them; on the 20th of the same month, they granted the money thereby engaged for the support of the King of Prussia; and the people, in general, were satisfied with its contents; except a few, who branded this gratuity with the appellation of a *tribute*, “in the payment of which the honour
“and the interest of the nation, said they, were
“scandalously prostituted^d.”

Let

^c The parties empowered to sign, and did actually sign this treaty on the part of Great Britain, were Sir Robert Henley, Knt. Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal of Great Britain; John Earl Granville, President of his Majesty's Council; Thomas Holles, Duke of Newcastle, First Lord Commissioner of the Treasury; Robert, Earl of Holderness, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State; Philip, Earl of Hardwicke; and William Pitt, Esq; another of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

^d The sum stipulated, by this convention, to be paid by Great Britain, has been branded with the appellation of a *tribute*, in the payment of which the honour and interest of the nation were scandalously prostituted. “This is a licentiousness of
“diction, which at once arraigns the King, Lords and Com-
“mons, of prostituting their power and authority, and of
“com-

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How sup-
ported by
Mr. PITT.

Let us see the first step in consequence of this convention. A grand expedition, to be executed by

“ combining in a measure to dishonour and ruin the nation.

“ Let us examine this allegation.—A tribute!—This is a

“ token of bondage. Did the British parliament, when they

“ granted an annual supply of money to the King of Prussia,

“ give any reason to suspect, that therewith they surrendered

“ to him their liberty, lives and fortunes? or did they act, as

“ if they made that obligation through fear of what might be

“ dreaded from the progress of his arms; or through that

“ magnanimous principle of succouring the distressed; of main-

“ taining a balance of power, for which England has always

“ been applauded; and of favouring our national interest?

“ Did not the King of Prussia, in consideration of that annual

“ payment, stipulate and agree to enter into no secret or sepe-

“ rate treaty of peace detrimental to the interest, and without

“ the consent of Great Britain? and to keep the sword drawn

“ against our enemies, till his Britannic Majesty should give

“ him leave to sheath it by an honourable peace;—in all

“ which there does not appear any thing like slavery or tri-

“ bute on the part of Britain.—How such a treaty with the

“ King of Prussia can be branded with the scandalous profti-

“ tution of the honour and interest of the nation is as unjust,

“ as it is inconceivable. Was it beneath the dignity of the

“ King of Great Britain to enter into an alliance with a Pro-

“ testant King, of the first rank, for his valour, and for his

“ strength and interest in Europe? Was it scandalous to secure

“ such an ally by a pecuniary settlement, when the union of

“ the houses of Austria and Bourbon, assisted by Russia, Swe-

“ den, and other powers, threatened immediate destruction to

“ our trade and interest on the continent of Europe: which

“ would naturally have followed the conquering sword of our

“ French rivals in every branch of manufacture and com-

“ merce; or was it scandalous to facilitate our operations by

“ sea in America, and in other distant regions, by a well-timed

“ application of such a subsidy; which kept France in such a

“ state

by two squadrons and a respectable body of land forces, was immediately set a foot, to try what might be done in this method; to divide and weaken the enemy's forces, and to make a diversion in favour of our German allies, by forcing the French to employ their troops in the defence of their own coasts; to destroy their navigation and trade, and thereby to cut off the source of their riches, and the sinews of the war.

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One squadron consisted of four ships of the line, seven frigates, six sloops, two fire-ships, two bombs, two cutters, twenty tenders, ten store-ships and one hundred transports; and the command thereof was given to Commodore Howe, who had signalized himself for his bravery and conduct, in the late fruitless expedition. The other squadron of twenty great ships, was commanded by Lord Anson and Sir Edward Hawke.

Two squadrons, with land forces, sent against the French coast.

The land forces^e destined for this expedition were 15 battalions, 400 of the artillery, 540 light horse:

“state of uncertainty, dependance and expence, that disabled
 “her from a vigorous pursuit of her natural and national interest, and crowned our expeditions every where with success? This subsidy has nothing new in its constitution. It
 “was of no other kind, than what not only Britain, but
 “other nations, particularly France, has always made use of,
 “to secure an interest to herself, and to deprive her adversaries of further means of strength. Of this kind have been
 “several northern princes, who were always looked upon as
 “tributaries, or subservient, to the nation which paid them
 “for their friendship and aid, and not as holding their pay-
 “masters in a state of tributary subjection.”

^e Guards, First, second and third regiments. Commanded by General Drury. First

A. D. horse: in all, about 13,000 fighting men, 60
1758. pieces of cannon ^f and 50 pieces of the mortar-kind, under the command of the Duke of Marl-

First brigade, Bentinck, Manners, Talbot and Home's regiment, by General Mostyn.

Third brigade, Welch fuzileers, Lambton's and Lord Charles Haye's regiments, by General Boscawen.

Fourth brigade. Effingham, Duke of Richmond and Cornwallis's regiments, by General Elliot,

The Artillery.

Second brigade. Loudon, Wolf, and Kingsley's regiments, by Waldgrave.

Staff Officers.

The Duke of Marlborough, Lord George Sackville, Earl of Ancram, lieutenant-generals.

Waldgrave, Mostyn, Drury, Boscawen and Elliot, major-generals.

Brigadier Elliot, commanding the light horse.

Lieutenant-Colonel Hotham, adjutant-general.

Captain Watson, quarter-master general, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel.

Aids de Camp.

To the Duke of Marlborough. Captain Calcraft, of Hodgson's; Captain Lloyd, of the Welch fuzileers; Captain Paterson, of the artillery.

To Lord George Sackville. Captain Smith, of the third regiment of guards; Captain Boyer, of Jeffrey's; Captain Broom, of the artillery.

To Lord Ancram. Captain Blacquier, of Lambton's; Ensign Meadows, of the first regiment of guards.

To General Drury. Captain Howard, of the first regiment of guards.

To General Mostyn. Captain Veach, of Wolf's.

To General Waldgrave. Captain Wilson, of the King's own.

To General Boscawen. Ensign Bishop, of the guards.

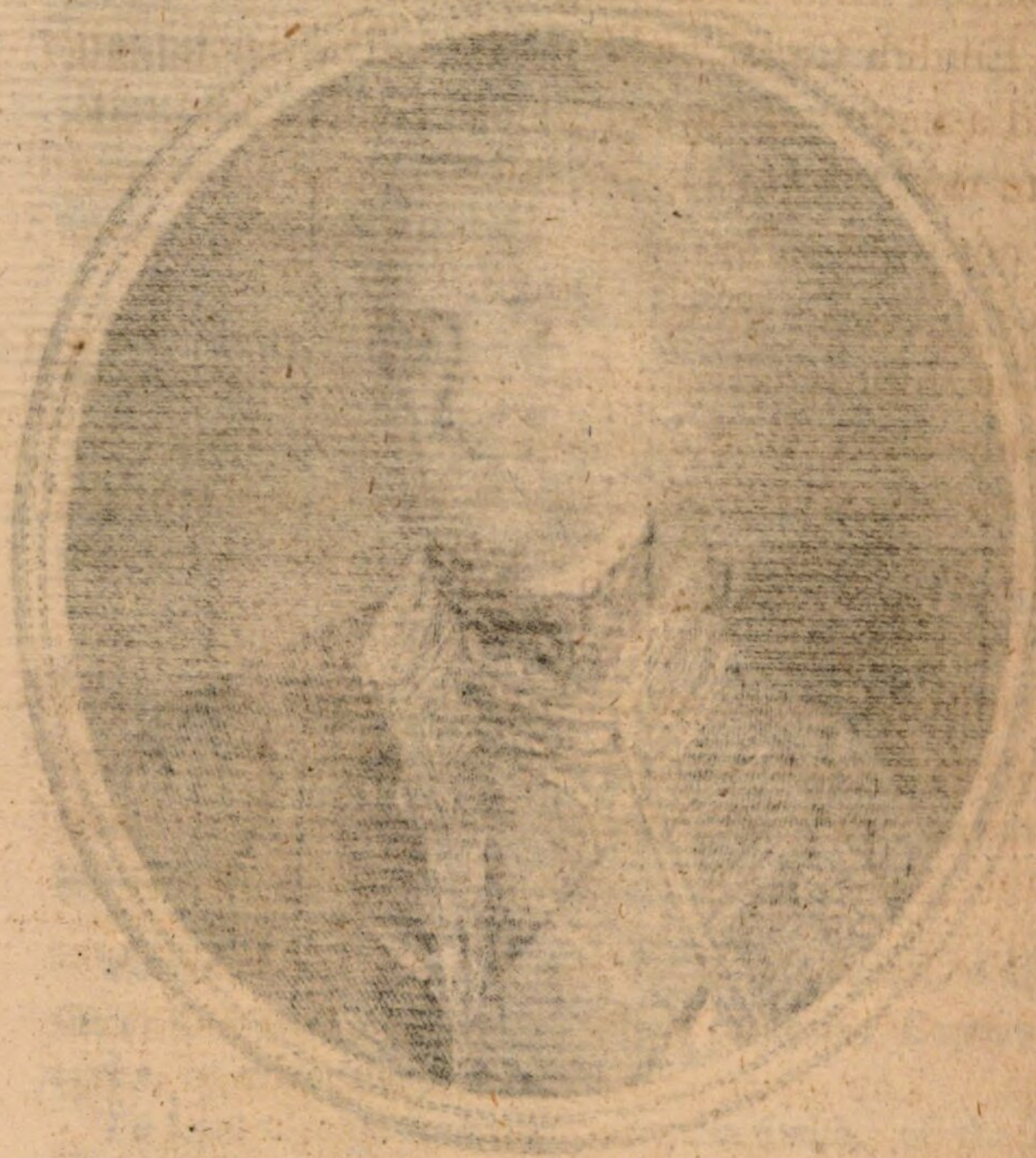
To General Elliot. Ensign Faucit, of the second regiment of guards.

^f Fifteen of which were twenty-four pounders.

borough,



His Grace CHARLES SPENCER
DUKE of MARLBOROUGH.



THE STATE OF MARYLAND
DEPT. OF STATE

borough, grandson to the Duke of that title, who, in his days was a real scourge to France, and the glory of his own country; but though the grandson was brave without exception, he can't be complimented with inheriting the martial genius of that English Cæsar, who never lost a battle, nor raised a siege. However, Lord George Sackville, son to the Duke of Dorset, the second in command, did not want either military knowledge or experience in the art of war.

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The ships rendezvoused at Spithead: the army encamped on the Isle of Wight. The troops began to embark on the 25th of May, and the whole embarkation was completed on the 27th. On the 28th Mr. Howe sent about sailing orders and instructions to every ship. The wind would not permit them to sail till the 1st of June: but in the mean time the Duke of Marlborough distributed his orders concerning the manner, in which the troops were to land, and the measures that were to be taken by the troops as they came on shore. The destination of this prodigious armament was not yet published; and its secrecy, as well as force, filled the enemy with great terror and alarm.

The miscarriage of his former plans^s having been attributed to the too early intelligence thereof, received by the enemy; and the detection and apprehending of a spy^h at this juncture, required him

^s See p. 320, &c. Vol. II.

^h This spy was one Florence Hensley, an Irishman by birth, educated at Leyden, where he commenced M. D. and had
a compe.

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him to proceed with the utmost precaution and secrecy.

On

a competent knowledge of the French, Spanish, Portuguese and Italian tongues. He was a Roman Catholic, and his brother was a Jesuit, chaplain and under secretary to the Spanish ambassador at the Hague, and the author of those letters intitled, the VOICE OF PEACE, managed most artfully in favour of France, and published in the year 1761.

This Florence Hensley appeared in London under the character of a physician, and pretended that his correspondence with the enemies of his king and country, commenced through accidental acquaintance with one formerly his fellow-student, who was at this time employed in the secretary of state's office at Paris, for foreign affairs. To whom Doctor Hensley wrote, amongst other things, a tender of his service in *any matters* he might want at London. Which his Parisian correspondent, in his answer, interpreting to be a *political service*, and assuring him, that his diligence therein might be advantageous to them both, the doctor, in his second letter, commended his friend's discernment, adding, "That if he could obtain for him a suitable recompence, he would endeavour to make his intelligence of the utmost importance." This produced a salary of 150 livres, or 25 l. sterling per quarter for the doctor, with directions to procure and send lists of all his Majesty's ships in and out of commission, number of guns and men, their time of sailing, from what port, their destination, the names of the commanders; the state of the land forces, where quartered and garrisoned; plans of all fortifications in Great Britain and North America; and the earliest account of enterprizes or expeditions against France.

The course of this correspondence was settled by the way of Cologne, Hague and Bern, to be forwarded from those cities to Paris: It was a common letter wrote with ink, containing the secret correspondence written between the lines with lemon-juice. This was inclosed under three different covers, directed to the several persons entrusted with the secret, who

On the first of June, about break of day, Lord Anson made a signal for the fleet to unmoor, and he

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who conveyed them from one hand to another, till the first inclosed come to the principal, for whom it was designed.— But such as he deemed of greatest importance, he directed to his brother at the Hague, for greater safety. The doctor tried every means to gain intelligence, that might recommend him to a larger salary. His address and profession gained him admission into polite company, without giving any suspicion; and introduced him into clubs or meetings where some gentlemen, about court, were too liberal in retailing their knowledge, or their conjectures on the measures of their superiors.

This correspondence began soon after Mr. PITT was first called up to the administration, and continued, without any material interruption, till the 9th of March 1758, and perhaps might have remained a secret, had it not been for the deep penetration of the English resident at the Hague, who having frequent intelligence of affairs, transacting at the court of London, from the Spanish ambassador's under-secretary, before he received any account thereof from his own court, was staggered, and put upon the enquiry, which way the Jesuit's knowledge could be communicated. He found that the Jesuit had this brother, and that discovery naturally suggested a suspicion sufficient to make him narrowly watched. Twenty-nine of his letters were stopped by proper authority; and he at length was waylaid on a Sunday, as he came from the Spanish ambassador's chapel, by two messengers, seized by them in St. Martin's-Lane, and committed to Newgate.

His lodgings in Arundel-street were searched, where several copies of his letters were found, as well as the originals he had received from abroad. By those papers it appeared, That he gave the French the first account of Admiral Boscawen's departure for North America, and of the taking the Alcide and Lys, and of every minute circumstance relating to it; and from that time, of the sailing of every fleet, and of its

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he sailed immediately with twenty-two ships of the line. About noon, the frigates under the command destination; and was so particular as to mention the launch of a man of war. He gave a particular account of the difficulties the ministry met with in raising money; and of his connection with a society in the Strand, who were reputed great men in the political world, and particularly in the financial branch. In one of these letters, dated the 29th of July 1757, the expedition against Rochefort was notified, though it is certain that resolution of the council had not then been made known either to Admiral Hawke or to Sir John Mordaunt, the commanders in chief; and in another letter, dated at Twickenham, the doctor, after giving an exact account of the state of our affairs, the condition of our fleet and army, their disposition, how many ships guarded and how many troops lined the coast of England, concludes with asserting, "That the only means of preventing the success of the expedition against Rochefort, would be to make a powerful diversion upon the coast of England; that by thus attacking us in our very vitals, we might be engaged at home, and so prevented from sending any number of troops abroad sufficient to give them any real annoyance." Which advice he renewed in a subsequent letter, alledging, "That it would be the most certain method to distress the government, as it would affect public credit;" and then pointed out both the time and place, when and where it would be most proper to carry it into execution.

By what channel this spy procured this knowledge, has not yet perspired; but the early intelligence, and the minute circumstances of Admiral Holbourne's destination for America, communicated to the court of France a few days after that admiral's instructions were signed, and in which he was so exact as to give the number of ships and troops on board, the day of their departure, &c. induced a shrewd suspicion of his connections with some body, besides what he could gather in public conversation; and the favour he met with after condemnation, afforded much speculation concerning his private con-

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mand of Mr. Howe, together with all the transports, got under way. Lord Anson, with his squadron, stood away to the west: but Mr. Howe's steered quite athwart the channel, with the wind at south-east, and soon lost sight of Lord Anson; whose instructions were to watch and intercept any squadron from the west against Mr. Howe's. The weather changing to very tempestuous, the commodore, a little before midnight, made a signal for the fleet to lie too, lest it should run too close in with the French shore before break of day. But no accident happened, except that one of the transports rolled away her foremast, and was obliged to be taken in tow by one of the frigates. They made sail at six in the morning, and by eight they could see cape La Hogue. The fleet stood in between the continent and the Isle of Alderney, and came to an anchor in the race, in the evening;

connections in England: where the time has been, when no matter how much, and by what instrument, the nation suffers, so that some men could maintain their own power by disgracing their rivals in the state.

For this illicit correspondence with the enemy of our country, in time of open war, Doctor Hensley was tried, convicted and condemned to be hanged and quartered, as in cases of high treason; but after several reprieves he obtained his Majesty's pardon, not for any discovery, as the world were made to believe; but by an extraordinary foreign interposition, which would not have had the same weight at a court, that properly resented the disappointments the nation met with in the expeditions against Louisbourg and Rochefort. Enough to put the minister, who was to direct the affairs of the nation, upon the utmost caution to cover his intentions, till he could bring them into action.

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Arrives in
Cancalle
bay.

Forces
land.

where many of the ships were driven from their anchors by the rapidity of the current, and some of them, that rode it out, left a fluke in the rocky ground, when they came to weigh. The fleet was stopped next day by a transport's running and bulging upon a hidden rock, with part of the guards on board, who notwithstanding the diligence and expedition, with which they were supplied by boats, from the rest of the ships, which on that occasion came to an anchor, had much to do to save themselves and baggage. It was eight at night before the fleet could proceed, and next day, about five in the afternoon, being be-calmed, it dropt anchor within three leagues from St. Maloes, on the 4th of June. Next morning they weighed before day, and proceeded to the Bay of Cancalle; where they were to land at a village of the same name.

Three frigates were ordered to continue their course to a battery, that might impede the disembarkation. But the rest of the fleet brought up. Having given orders for the ships carrying the grenadiers, to make sail with the frigates, Mr. Howe quitted the Essex, and went on board, with his pendant, one of the frigates, in which he was able to lie closer in shore than in a large ship. The battery, perceiving the grenadiers in the flat-bottomed boats prepared to land, fired upon them: but the frigates advanced, silenced the battery, and the grenadiers made good their landing, without much opposition. For, though there were seven companies of foot, and three troops of dragoons

goons posted at the landing-place, they fled with precipitation, as soon as our soldiers began to move towards the shore; and nothing then appeared to impede our progress, but a few peasants, that drew up behind a wind-mill at a great distance, and diverted themselves with firing shot, that would not reach our men.

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1758.

The grenadiers being drawn up upon the beach, Lord Down, with twenty of Kingsley's, marched through a very narrow pass, up into the village of Cancalle; where they were met by the Marquis of Landal, intendant of the coast and colonel of the militia, with his servant. Lord Down called to him and told him, if he would surrender, he had nothing to fear: but he and his servant foolishly refused quarter; so that both they and their horses were shot dead upon the spot. My Lord took possession of the village, disarmed and secured the most active peasants, that fell in his way, and kept his men on their arms all night, waiting for the rest of the army¹.

Three regiments disembarked that same tide as the grenadiers, but they continued all night on the beach; and the whole army was landed the next day, the 6th, and encamped. The grenadiers and light horse advanced about a mile in the front of the line; and Cancalle was made the head-quarters. Next morning, the 7th, by break

Encamp.

¹ The inhabitants of Cancalle fled, and left their village to the mercy of the invaders: and it was plundered by the soldiers and sailors; for which one soldier was hanged, and seven seamen flogged, and sent on board their ships.

A. D.
1758.

Arrives in
Cancalle
bay.

Forces
land.

where many of the ships were driven from their anchors by the rapidity of the current, and some of them, that rode it out, left a fluke in the rocky ground, when they came to weigh. The fleet was stopped next day by a transport's running and bulging upon a hidden rock, with part of the guards on board, who notwithstanding the diligence and expedition, with which they were supplied by boats, from the rest of the ships, which on that occasion came to an anchor, had much to do to save themselves and baggage. It was eight at night before the fleet could proceed, and next day, about five in the afternoon, being be-calmed, it dropt anchor within three leagues from St. Maloes, on the 4th of June. Next morning they weighed before day, and proceeded to the Bay of Cancalle; where they were to land at a village of the same name.

Three frigates were ordered to continue their course to a battery, that might impede the disembarkation. But the rest of the fleet brought up. Having given orders for the ships carrying the grenadiers, to make sail with the frigates, Mr. Howe quitted the Effex, and went on board, with his pendant, one of the frigates, in which he was able to lie closer in shore than in a large ship. The battery, perceiving the grenadiers in the flat-bottomed boats prepared to land, fired upon them: but the frigates advanced, silenced the battery, and the grenadiers made good their landing, without much opposition. For, though there were seven companies of foot, and three troops of dragoons

goons posted at the landing-place, they fled with precipitation, as soon as our soldiers began to move towards the shore; and nothing then appeared to impede our progress, but a few peasants, that drew up behind a wind-mill at a great distance, and diverted themselves with firing shot, that would not reach our men.

A. D.
1758.

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A. D.
1758.

March for
St. Maloes.

of day, the whole army, except the third brigade, struck their tents, and began to march in two columns. The first column, consisting of the brigade of guards, two battalions of grenadiers, and the first brigade, commanded by Lord George Sackville, marching from the left, fell into the great road to St. Maloes. The second column, under the command of Lieutenant-General Earl of Ancram, and consisting of the second and fourth brigade, marched also from the left, though a very inclosed country, and most narrow road: for, though 200 pioneers marched at the head of the column, and laboured hard to clear the way, the men were frequently obliged to pass by single files; and the lands on each side the road were so covered with wood, that they could seldom see above forty yards clear of their flanks. The villages, through which they past, were totally deserted by man, woman and child: who had carried off every thing valuable.

The third brigade had orders to continue encamped at Cancalle, and to throw up entrenchments to secure a retreat, in case of need, and to escorte the heavy artillery, which was not yet landed. But the guards were ordered to file off about two miles to the left of the first encampment, and there to pitch their tents, and cover the army, on that quarter, from whence there was the greatest reason to expect an enemy^k.

The

^k The following is a translation of a manifesto, which his Grace the Duke of Marlborough published in Britanny, on the

The troops in motion, advanced towards St. Maloes without beat of drum, and in as good order

A. D.
1758.

as the 7th of June, the second day after the landing of the troops at Cancalle.

“ We the high and mighty Prince, Charles, Duke of Marlborough, Marquis of Blandford, Earl of Sunderland, Baron Churchill, Knight of the most noble order of the Garter, Privy-Counsellor to his Britannic Majesty, Grand Master of the Ordnance, and commander in chief of his forces, &c.

“ Make known to all the inhabitants of Britanny, that the descent on their coast, with the powerful army under our command, and our formidable armament by sea, is not made with an intention to make war on the inhabitants of the country, excepting those, who shall be found in arms, or shall otherwise oppose the just war, which we wage against his Majesty the most Christian King.

“ Be it known, therefore, to all who will remain in peaceable possession of their habitations and effects, that they may stay unmolested in their respective dwellings, and follow their usual occupations; and that, excepting the customs and taxes, which they pay to the King, nothing will be required of them, either in money or merchandizes, but what is absolutely necessary for the subsistence of the army; and that for all the provisions, they shall bring in, they shall be paid ready money.

“ On the contrary, if, notwithstanding this declaration, which we have been pleased to make, the inhabitants of the towns or villages carry away their furniture, effects, or provisions, and abandon their houses or dwellings, we shall treat such delinquents as enemies, and destroy by fire and sword, or such other methods, as shall be in our power, their towns, villages, dwellings, or houses. Given at the head-quarters at Parame.

June 7, 1758.

MARLBOROUGH.”

By his Grace's command,

BRYANT.

A. D.
1758.

Camp be-
fore St.
Maloës.

as the nature of the country would permit; but it was late in the evening before they had marched six miles. The commanders in chief proceeded immediately to reconnoitre the situation of St. Maloës; ordered the ground for the camp to be marked out, at a little more than a mile from the town. This camp was formed with the village of Parame, made the head-quarters, in front, and the village of Servant upon the right flank. The grenadiers advanced about 100 paces, the light horse and artillery about as far in the rear, and the rest of the troops were extended in one direct line.

While the main body was employed in pitching tents, the light horse, sustained by the piquets of the whole, advanced to the walls of St. Maloës¹: and

His Grace sent at the same time the following letter to the magistrates and echevins of St. Maloës.

GENTLEMEN,

“ We being in possession of all the country between Dinan, Rennes, and Doll, as far as St. Maloës, and finding that all the inhabitants of the towns and villages, in this extent of country, have abandoned their habitations; probably to avoid the payment of the usual contributions: and as we are informed that the inhabitants have, by your orders, been compelled to go to St. Maloës; we give you notice, that if they do not return peaceably to their houses, and send their magistrates to our head-quarters to settle the contributions, we shall think ourselves obliged to set fire to them without further delay.

MARLBOROUGH.”

¹ St. Maloës is one of the chief towns and ports of the Upper Bretagne, is seated on the northern coast of St. Aaron, and joined

and were saluted by the enemy's cannon from the
 ramparts, which killed a horse or two without any
 other loss or damage. But by favour of the night
 they got under the enemy's cannon, and slipped down
 to the harbour, where they found a considerable
 fleet of privateers and merchantmen^m, to which
 our troops set fire, with combustibles provided and
 carried with them for that purpose; and also to
 the magazines of pitch, tar, ropes, &c. which
 took effect. So that in the space of a few hours
 there was the most dreadful scene of conflagra-
 tion, that imagination can paint, and all the ships
 and stores were destroyed by the flames, which
 continued all night, without the least opposition
 from the garrison, though there was a consider-
 able body of troops in the town, that might en-
 able them to make a sally with a view of success.

A. D.
1758.

Ships, &c.
burnt.

Meet with
no opposi-
tion.

joined to the continent by means of a long causeway, of not
 above thirty fathoms broad, the entrance whereof is defended
 by a strong castle, flanked with large towers, and the town
 surrounded with walls, deep ditches, and a sufficient garrison:
 besides which, towards the sea it is secured by a shoal of sand that
 encompasses it, and several rocks and small islands, that make
 the haven of difficult access, insomuch that it is reputed one of
 the keys of France. It is considerable for its traffick and
 strength, and the skill of its inhabitants in maritime affairs,
 by which means great numbers of privateers are in time of
 war from hence fitted out, and much disturb the trade of these
 seas. See p. 91.

^m One man of war of 50 guns on the stocks, two ditto 36
 guns each, twenty-four privateers, from 30 to 40 guns each.
 Seventy merchantmen, and forty small craft. There was only
 one ship, a privateer of 40 guns saved, she being a-float; the rest
 were hauled up imprudently to the walls, and were a-ground.

Their

A. D.
1758.
Forage.

Their next care was to secure provisions. So that when this party was returned from the conflagration to the camp, other parties were next morning, on the 8th, sent to forage, and to bring in the necessaries of life; the country people refusing to supply our troops for ready money, and the provisions brought a-shore being expended.

Retire.

One battalion of guards, and Lord Charles Hay's of the third brigade, marched the same day into camp. One mortar and three royals, which had been ordered from the ships, were stopped on the road and remanded on board: and the advanced piquets and the second brigade, returned to camp about nine in the evening. The night proved a most terrible one with thunder, lightning, violent rain and wind, which beat down the tents and soufed the men, as if they had been dipt in water. But at seven next morning 200 pioneers, sustained by a party of 500 men, were ordered to march towards St. Maloes; and a captain and 80 men were employed to level the ground in the front of the encampment, in order to open a communication between each regiment. These were indications of vigorous resolutions. Yet, on the 10th, in the morning, His Grace the Duke of Marlborough, having advice of a great superiority of forces assembling to attack him, and to cut off his retreat, ordered the whole army back to Cuncalle. Which was done; though it did not appear that there were at that present time above 500 regular forces in that province. They struck their tents about noon, immediately marched off, and encamped

camped that night within the entrenchments at that village: giving over all thoughts of a siege, which would take up a month, in a regular manner: and for which they were not sufficiently provided. For the walls of the town were not only of a vast thickness, but of so great an height, that none of the scaling ladders sent from England could reach the top.

A. D.
1758.

The same night the artillery was put on board; and the two following days were employed in the re-imbarkation of the troops in the midst of a very heavy rain, which filled the trenches, of those that were left, half full of water. Re-imbark.

Thus ended the attempt against St. Maloes, with the loss of 30 men missing. Whilst the army was employed before St. Maloes, a battalion of guards marched, under the command of Colonel Cesar, 12 miles up into the country, to a town called Dol, and were politely entertained by the magistrates; and their treatment was as politely repaid by this party, whose intention was only to reconnoitre the country, and returned after staying in this town one night, without committing one act of hostility. A party of light horse advanced still farther, and fell in with the videts of a French camp, chaced them a long way, and brought two of them into our campⁿ.

Having

ⁿ We may guess at the consternation and confusion of the enemy from this abstract of a mandate issued by the Bishop of St. Maloes, for a solemn procession by way of thanksgiving, for the retreat of the English.

Sing

A. D.
1758.
Weigh anchor.

Having mustered the men on board, orders were issued on the 14th for the grenadiers and guards to hold themselves in readiness to disembark, to complete their ammunition for that purpose, and that the officers should for the future, take more effectual means to prevent morauding. It was intended to proceed against Granville, a petty town well situated on the top of a high cliff, on the other side of the bay, and about six leagues distant from St. Maloes; defended by a battery of

Sing unto the Lord with timbrels, sing unto the Lord with cymbals, &c. For God breaketh the battles: for amongst the camps in the midst of the people he hath delivered me out of the hands of them that persecuted me.

—Bethulia, being reduced to the last extremity, without resource, without hopes of any assistance, and when its frightened inhabitants desired nothing but a voluntary surrender, was saved by one of those extraordinary miracles, which manifest in the most obvious manner the operation of the almighty hand of the Most High. Your deliverance, on the contrary, has, at first sight, nothing in it but what is natural; but whoever gives but a little attention to the whole series of this event, must acknowledge the most evident marks of God's special protection of their city.—You took all the precaution, which courage and conduct could dictate, against the attacks, with which you were threatned, and which you looked upon, as inevitable. These precautions were superfluous. There was not so much as *one* gun fired against your city. You hoped that the troops coming to your assistance would drive away the enemy: but the enemy did not wait for them. News was brought them, and they retired with precipitation. The winds opposed their return: but it was decreed by Providence that they should return by the same way that they came; and they have done it in spite of contrary winds. What shall we then say? *If God be for us, who shall be against us?*

18 pieces

18 pieces of cannon, upon a neck of land, which commands the town, and a great part of the bay. Pilots were taken on board from Guernsey and Jersey; and 22 large lug-sail boats were also brought from thence, for greater expedition in the landing of the forces. But having weighed at 6 in the morning, on the 16th, the fleet was obliged by contrary and violent winds to come to an anchor that evening off St. Maloes; and next day to return to Cancele bay. The winds continued contrary and the weather very bad till the 21st, when it growing moderate, they put to sea, were joined by the Isis, Captain Wheeler, and four transports with reinforcements: but were driven back again by contrary winds. However, on the 23d they sailed to the eastward, passed Jersey, Guernsey, and saw the Isle of Wight, and on the 26th steered with a northwind for the French coast, and run in with the land near Havre de Grace. But, after laying in sight of that port all the 27th and 28th; ordering the flat-bottomed boats for landing the forces to be hoisted out; reconnoitring the coast, which the Duke of Marlborough and Mr. How undertook personally in a cutter; and four days provisions got ready for the men to take with them on shore, nothing was executed to annoy the enemy. On the 29th the whole fleet bore away before the wind for Cherbourg, and came to an anchor at about two miles from the town; six batteries fired on the transports to no purpose, and a considerable number of people, some of whom appeared to be regular forces, were

A. D.
1758.

Stopt with
bad weather.

Sail to the
eastward.

Towards
Cher-
bourg.

A. D.
1758.

were drawn up along the strand, nevertheless it was resolved to attack the forts Querqueville, l'Hommet and Gallet, in the night; which was prevented by a violent wind, that hindered the troops from landing, and rendered it impossible to sustain them in case of a repulse, if the disembarkation could have been effected. Then it was resolved to stand in with the whole fleet, to cover a general landing. But that resolution was also abortive. The storm increased: the transports ran foul of one another: and, as the gale blew directly upon the coast, all the shipping was exposed to the perils of a lee-shore. Besides there began to be a scarcity of provisions, and the hay for the horses was almost eat up. So that this great and expensive expedition-fleet returned, next morning, for the coast of England, and on the 1st of July arrived at St. Helens^o.

While

• *Extract of a letter from an officer belonging to the light-horse, on board a transport at St. Helens, July 3.*

“ We are arrived here after having made one of the grandest bonfires, at and near St. Maloes, that ever was seen in France; all which was executed in nine hours, without the least molestation from the enemy; as if they themselves would receive some pleasure from so striking a flame being struck up among them; or rather, the water-pipes leading to St. Maloes being cut off, and a threaten of immediately setting fire to the town, if they made any resistance, rendered them thus inactive, being in the greatest panic and confusion. By some officers belonging to the navy of France we are informed, that the damage done by our troops to the docks, King's stores, and shipping, exclusive of private property, would require much more than 12,000,000 of livres to reinstate, exclusive of

While the British arms were carrying terror along the Gallic shore, the fate of our enemies and the relief of our allies were determined by the

A. D.
1758.

British parliament. The Commons granted 60,000 men for the sea service, including 14,845 marines: 53,777 effective men, including officers and 4008

Proceed-
ings in
parlia-
ment.

invalids for guards and garrisons in Great Britain, Guernsey, Jersey, &c. and exclusive of the garrisons and forces in the plantations and Gibraltar: four regiments of foot on the Irish establishment, serving in North America and the East Indies: a supply to subsist and keep together the army formed last year in his Majesty's Electoral dominions:

Grants for
the Ger-
man war.

and for payment of 12,000 and upwards of Hessian troops: 670,000 l. for the support of the King Prussia: 463,084 l. 6s. 10d. for maintaining 38,000 hired troops in Germany; and 386,915 l. 13s. 2d. for their forage, bread, artillery, &c. 100,000 l. for paying and cloathing the militia: 800,000 l. for defraying the extra expences of the war: 20,000 l. for the payment of the troops in East India: 10,000 l. for the support of the British forts on the coast of Africa. Which grants, with the other provisions made by parliament for the current year, amounted to 10,486,457 l.^p And in con-

of the expence of building, and the time they will take up in being brought to their former condition of strength, &c. The private property destroyed is valued at much more than the public, which could not be avoided, the merchant ships having thrown themselves close in with the docks and men of war, and under the cannon of the forts."

^p Of which the sum of 1,861,897 l. was granted for the aid of our friends on the continent.

sequence

A. D. 1758. sequence thereof we find that the state of our national strength or forces by sea and land in British pay, including artificers in the King's docks and yards, was as follows :

Military and naval force of Great Bri- tain.	Establishment for Great Britain, the		
	train of artillery inclusive	—	55,000
	For Ireland	—	12,000
	For N. America, of Regulars 32,000	}	52,000
	of Provincials 30,000		
	For the West Indies	—	2,000
	For Gibraltar and the East Indies		5,000
	Allied army in the pay of Great Britain		52,000
	Total of land forces		178,000
Naval department, seamen 62,000	}	96,000	
Marines — 14,000			
Artificers to the docks, about 20,000			
Total		274,000	

Ships in commission 310, of which 110 were of the line.

They also endeavoured to remove the objections made by the public to the militia act, and to enforce that act for the present benefit of the nation.

Militia act improved and rendered more effectual. A bill was brought in, and passed, to amend and explain the militia bill. By which every city or town has the liberty to offer volunteers, if they chuse it, instead of standing the chance of the ballot : and it is further enacted, That

Every

Every substitute is, equally with the person serving for himself, exempted from being pressed; and the substitute is also entitled (having been called out into actual service) to set up any trade in any place whatever.

A. D.
1758.

Every militia man is to have his cloaths at the end of three years.

Every militia man, when the militia of his county shall be ordered into actual service, shall receive one guinea.

The families of the militia men shall, in their absence, be provided for out of the county stock.

If a militia man shall fall sick on a day of march, he is to be provided for.

The militia can never be sent out of the kingdom upon any pretence whatever; nor can they, as appears by the oath they take, be employed, but only for the immediate defence of their country.

The captains have power of making corporals out of the private militia men, which is sixpence advance each day of exercise; and the further vacancies of serjeants are to be filled up out of the militia men, which is one shilling a day the whole year. Militia men's sons may also be appointed drummers, which is sixpence a day the whole year.

Another act passed for the encouragement of seamen employed in the royal navy: to establish a regular method for the punctual, frequent and certain payment of their wages; to enable them more readily and easily to remit the same, for the

Seamen's
act for bet-
ter pay-
ment of
wages.

A. D.
1758.

support of their wives and families, and to prevent frauds and abuses attending such payments. Of which you'll find an abstract in the margin ⁹.

The

⁹ 1. Every volunteer, entering his name, shall receive a certificate thereof gratis, and be intitled to wages, from the day of the date thereof, inclusive, upon his appearance on board within fourteen days, if the place where he enters is not above 100 miles from the ship; 20, if above 100 miles; or 30, if above 200 miles; and shall have the usual conduct money, with two months wages advance, before the ship proceeds to sea.

2. Every supernumerary man, serving ten days in a ship, shall be intitled to his wages and all other benefits, as if he was a part of the complement; but men, lent to other ships, shall remain intitled to their wages on the books of the ship from which they were lent, until they be regularly discharged, and in no other.

3. Every inferior officer or seaman, turned over to another ship, that is then in, or shall come into, a British port, where there is a commissioner of the navy, shall be paid all the wages due to him in the former ship, before the other proceeds to sea, unless the Admiralty order it otherwise, in cases of the greatest exigency only; and, in this case, he shall receive his wages, as soon as the ship shall again come into a British port, where there is a commissioner of the navy.

4. No officer or seaman, turned over, shall be rated in a lower degree than he was before; and he shall have an advance of two months wages, before the present ship sails, if not already received.

5. As soon as any ship, which has been in sea pay twelve months or more, shall arrive in any British port, all the wages due, except the last six months, shall be immediately paid; and the whole shall be paid within two months, at farthest, after the arrival of such ship in port to be laid up.

6. The month shall consist of twenty-eight days.

7. The

The business of this session of parliament being complete, and the season for retiring into the country

A. D.
1758.

7. The captain, or commander, shall make out a ticket, upon the death of every inferior officer or seaman, and transmit it, by the first safe opportunity, to the commissioners of the navy; and payment shall be made, within a month after the receipt thereof, *without fee or reward*, to the executors or administrators of such officers or seamen, or their attorney.

8. The captain, or commander, shall make out a ticket for every inferior officer or seaman discharged as unserviceable, and send it in the manner mentioned in the preceding article; he shall also give such officer or seaman a certificate of his discharge, containing an exact copy of his ticket, and a description of his person; and, upon the commissioners being satisfied, that the ticket was made out for such person, they shall testify the same on such certificate, and immediately deliver him the ticket assigned for payment, which shall be made, at the navy office, *without fee or reward*, to him, and to no other person. If the ticket shall not have been sent to, or received by the commissioners of the navy, the copy of the ticket in the certificate shall intitle him to the money therein appearing to be due; and, if such officer or seaman produce his certificate to a commissioner of the navy residing in any British port, he, being satisfied about it, shall sign and transmit the same to the commissioners of the navy; who, within four days after the receipt thereof, are to send a ticket, or, if such ticket had not been sent to or received by them, the said certificate, to the commissioner at such port, who shall, thereon, cause immediate payment to be made, *without fee or reward*; he shall also send such officer or seaman to the nearest hospital, to be received and victualled, from the time of his presenting such certificate, until payment is made. If any such certificate be lost or destroyed, or not presented by the person himself, or the money due on it shall not be paid before the general payment of the ship's company, the ticket shall be cancelled, and the wages payable, as if no ticket or certificate had been made out.

A. D.
1758.

country far advanced, his Majesty, not being able to go in person to the House, appointed Lords Commissioners

9. When a captain, or commander, shall send any inferior officer or seaman into any hospital or sick quarters, he shall transmit with him a ticket for his wages then due; and, if he be regularly discharged from thence, as unserviceable, he shall have a certificate of his discharge, with the sick ticket annexed thereto; and, if he presents the same to a commissioner at any British port, such commissioner, after he has signed the certificate, shall forthwith send it to the commissioners of the navy, who, without delay, shall transmit a proper ticket, or pay-list, to the said commissioners, who shall cause immediate payment to be made to such officer or seaman, *without fee or reward*; who shall be maintained in such hospital, or sick-quarters, from the time of his presenting the certificate and sick ticket until he receive what is due to him.

10. The payment of tickets, &c. shall not be delayed, though the muster or pay books be not regularly sent to and received by the commissioners of the navy; but, if any error be made in a ticket, &c. the loss shall be made good out of the wages of the captain or commissioner, by whom they were made out.

11. As often as a ship, which is not in a port of Great Britain, or on the coast thereof, shall have twelve months wages due, the captain, or commander, shall cause the names of all the inferior officers and seamen to be called over, and shall do the same at the end of every six months; and, if any of them shall then declare, or deliver in writing, the name and place of abode of his wife, father, or mother, and desire, that the whole or any part of his wages, then due, except for the last six months, should be paid to such wife, father, or mother, the captain, or commander, is strictly required to cause four lists to be made out of the persons desiring to make such remittances, which he shall, without delay, transmit to the commissioners of the navy; who, on the receipt thereof, shall immediately make out two bills for the payment of the wages

Commissioners to deliver his sense of their conduct in parliament, who on the 20th of June, in the King's name, made the following speech :

A. D.
1758.

“ My

wages so allotted by each person, one of which shall be sent to the persons specified in the lists, and the other to the receiver, collector, or clerk of the Cheque ; and if the person to whom any such bill is sent shall, within six months from the date thereof, deliver the same to such receiver, &c. with a certificate that the person is the wife, father, or mother, of such officer or seaman, signed by the minister and churchwardens, or, in Scotland, by the minister and two elders of the parish, where such person was married or resides ; such receiver, &c. being satisfied about the certificate, shall, *without fee or reward*, immediately pay the sum mentioned in the bill ; and such bill, with a duplicate thereof, being produced at the navy-office, shall forthwith be assigned for payment by the commissioners : but, if payment of the said bill be not demanded, and a duplicate thereof, &c. be not delivered, within six months from the date thereof, it is to be cancelled, and the sum contained therein becomes payable to such inferior officer or seaman, when the ship shall be paid.

12. The proceedings are the same, if, when wages shall be paid at the pay-office, or any of the out-ports, any inferior officer or seaman desires to remit the whole, or part of his wages to his wife, children, parents, or any other person.

13. The wages, pay, and allowances earned by any indentured apprentice shall, as hath been usual, be paid to his master, unless he was above eighteen years of age when his indentures were executed, or shall be rated as a servant to any officer, to whom such apprenticeship is unknown.

14. Captains, or commanders, shall send, from time to time, to the commissioners of the navy, complete pay-books, lists, and tickets, and also, once in two months, complete muster-books, under the penalty of forfeiting all their wages to the chest of Chatham, and of being liable to be farther

A. D.

1785.

“ My Lords, and Gentlemen,

His Ma-
jesty's
speech, by
commis-
sion.

WE have received the King's commands, upon this occasion, to assure you, that his Majesty has the deepest sense of the loyalty and good affections

punished by a court-martial, except in cases of necessity, to be made appear to the satisfaction of the Lord High Admiral, or commissioners of the admiralty.

15. The tickets, &c. shall be sufficient vouchers for payment thereon.

16. Captains, or commanders, issuing other tickets than the act directs, shall pay 50l. for every ticket, and also forfeit all their wages to the chest at Chatham.

17. No letters of attorney, for wages, or allowances of money, shall be valid, unless therein declared to be revocable, and the same, if made by an inferior officer or seaman then in the service, be signed before, and attested by the commander, and one of the other signing officers, or by a clerk of the Cheque; and, if made by a person after his discharge from the service, unless the same be signed before, and attested by the mayor or chief magistrate of the place, where he then resides; or unless the letter, if made by an executor or administrator, be signed before, and attested by the minister and churchwardens, or, in Scotland, by the minister and two elders of the parish where he resides.

18. No more than 1 s. shall be taken for the probate of any will, or letters of administration, granted to the widows, children, &c. of inferior officers, seamen, or marines dying in the service, unless the goods and chattels are of the value of 20l. nor more than 2 s. unless they are of the value of 40l. nor more than 3 s. unless they are of the value of 60l. under the penalty of 50l. to be paid by the offender to the party aggrieved. The case is the same, as to the issuing out commissions to swear such widows, &c.

19. Whoever

affections demonstrated by his parliament, throughout the whole course of this session. The zeal

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19. Whoever, willingly and knowingly, shall personate, or falsely assume the name or character of any person intitled to wages, &c. for service done in any ship of the royal navy, or the executor, &c. of such person, or shall procure any other so to do; or shall forge, or procure to be forged, any letter of attorney, or other power; or take a false oath, or procure it to be taken, to obtain the probate of a will, or letters of administration; in order to receive any wages, &c. shall be guilty of felony, and suffer death.

20. When the pay books are closed, tickets shall be made out at the navy-office to such seamen, as have not received their wages, &c. which shall be paid, in course, once a month,

21. British governors, ministers, or consuls, residing in foreign parts, or, where there are no such persons, any two British merchants, are required to provide for seafaring men and boys, subjects of Great Britain, who, by shipwreck, capture, or other unavoidable accident, shall be in those parts, or shall be discharged there as unserviceable, from the royal navy, at 6d. per diem each, and to send them home with all convenient expedition.

22. Masters of ships shall have 6d. per diem for each man and boy above their complement.

23. Seamen shall not be taken out of the service for any debt under 20l.

24. But creditors may proceed to judgment and outlawry, and have an execution thereupon, except against their bodies.

25. Receivers of seamens wages, taking more than 6d. per pound, shall for every offence forfeit 50l. and if the offender be a clerk, officer, or servant, belonging to the navy, he shall lose his place, and be incapable of holding any one of profit in any such office.

26. Clerks, &c. in offices belonging to the navy, taking fees, not allowed by the act, for doing any thing thereby directed, shall be liable to the same forfeitures.

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which you have shewn for his Majesty's honour and real interest in all parts, your earnestness to surmount every difficulty, and your ardour to carry on the war with the utmost vigour, in order to a safe and honourable peace, must convince all the world, that the ancient spirit of the British nation is still subsisting in its full force.

His Majesty has also commanded us to acquaint you, that he has taken all such measures, as have appeared to be most conducive to answer your public spirited views and wishes. Through your assistance, and by the blessing of God upon the conduct and bravery of the combined army, his Majesty has been enabled not only to deliver his dominions in Germany from the oppressions and devastations of the French, but to push our advantages on this side of the Rhine.

His Majesty has cemented the union between him and his good brother the King of Prussia, by new engagements, with which you have been already fully acquainted.

Our fleets and armies are now actually employed in such expeditions, as appeared likely to annoy the enemy in the most sensible manner; to promote the welfare and prosperity of these kingdoms; and particularly to preserve our rights and possessions in America; and to make France feel our just weight and real strength in those parts. His Majesty trusts in the Divine Providence, that they may be blessed with such success, as will most effectually tend to these great and desirable ends.

Gentlemen

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

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We are particularly commanded by the King, to return you his thanks for those ample supplies, which you have so freely and unanimously given. His Majesty grieves for the burdens of his people; but your readiness in supporting the war is the most probable means the sooner to deliver you from it. You may be assured, that nothing will be wanting, on his Majesty's part, to secure the most frugal management,

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

His Majesty has directed us to repeat his recommendation to you, to promote harmony and good agreement amongst his faithful subjects; and to make the uprightness and purity of his intentions and measures rightly understood. Exert yourselves in maintaining the peace and good order of the country, by enforcing obedience to the laws and lawful authority: and by making the people sensible, how much they hurt their own true interest by the contrary practice.

For their sakes, the King has commanded us to press this upon you; for their true interest and happiness are his Majesty's great and constant object."

His Majesty in a more particular manner takes notice of the *ample supplies*, which had been so freely and unanimously given for the support of the war. On which it will be proper to remark, That though these supplies were very extraordinary ;

Remarks
thereon.

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nary ; and the war was carried on at an immense expence ; they were necessary. There was no other way to defeat the designs of our enemies. France was engaged by her confederacy to pay extraordinary subsidies to Austria, Russia, Sweden and other German allies, in order to carry her point. Therefore the case was nothing more, than opposing one great expence to another : whose balance must always turn in favour of the nation, that shall be best able to raise money by trade, and stop the resources from whence the enemy is used to draw his riches and treasure. This was the real case between France and England. France was loaded with a vast expence in armies and subsidies, and deprived of her trade, from whence riches came into her treasury. England was daily improving, and acquiring more trade ; by which her finances were enabled to carry on the war, at a greater expence than France, and till France should become a bankrupt. Which was the view of Mr. PITT, when he entered into the alliance above mentioned, with Prussia : because that was the only way to oblige France to exhaust her troops and treasures ; while the British navy cut off all, or most of her resources from America, and entirely ruined her trade ; and at the same time, to increase the riches and revenues of his own country by new and valuable acquisitions, the better to enable her to support this additional expence.

Factions in
the French
cabinet.

The factions and distractions, which at that juncture divided and weakened the French councils, under the influence of a female favourite, were

were also improved by our vigilant, disembarassed and able minister. He was convinced by the cabals at the French court, for the command of the armies in Germany, that their ministry were unable to bestow a proper attention to both elements; there was no strife about the commands at sea: therefore our minister aimed at confounding them more by reiterated blows on all sides: to ruin their navy, while he drew off their attention from the ocean to the plains of Germany. Without which kind of diversion, France would soon have been in a condition to repair the damages of their marine; as in former times.

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Reasons
for attack-
ing the
French
in Germa-
ny.

The people with pleasure acquiesced in these sentiments and measures, because they were convinced of their salutary effects. They were also spirited up by the daily advices of the success of Prince Ferdinand, who by this time had driven the French over the Rhine: while, on the other part, the French ministry were trying to accomplish that by intrigue and misrepresentation, which they were not in a capacity to bring about merely by their own strength.

Approved
of by the
English
nation.

The provocation given by M. Richelieu's breach of the convention, for the Hanoverians resuming their arms, furnished the French court with a plausible invective against his Britannic Majesty, Elector of Hanover. In which, under the name of a manifesto^r, they pretend that their armies entered Germany to maintain the peace of the

French
manifesto
against the
Hanove-
rians re-
suming
arms.

^r Published by authority at Paris, and dated at Versailles on the 30th of December 1757.

Empire,

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Empire, in quality of guarantees of the treaty of Westphalia; and that was sufficient to warrant their invasion and seizure of Hanover and Hesse Cassel. Then they proceed, and insist, That the alliance between Austria and France was not unnatural and dangerous to the Germanic liberty; but, on the contrary, that it was quite natural, and necessary to defend that liberty from the dangers arising from the league between England and Prussia. That their King had originally formed a design to confine himself to his own defence against the English in North America, and thereby, if possible, to preserve the advantages of peace to Europe in general, and to the Empire in particular: and that if it happened otherwise, it might be imputed to the ambition and injustice of his enemies.

They inveigh with great acrimony against the Kings of Great Britain and Prussia for presuming to keep foreign troops out of Germany, when they themselves are bringing ruin upon the Germanic constitutions: and accuse them of stirring up and carrying on an unjust war, set on foot in contempt of the faith of treaties, and of the laws of the Empire; and make his Britannic Majesty the first promoter of it.

They further set forth, That the ill success of the unjust and violent enterprizes of the King of England against France, both in America and Europe, having changed the brilliant expectations, with which that Prince's ministers had flattered the British nation into real losses for the present,
and

and apprehensions for the future, they have been forced to have recourse to fresh expedients for allaying the resentment of that nation, and especially for getting from it such an augmentation of subsidies, of which the Elector of Hanover should come in for a part; and that the way, which seemed to them the fittest for settling their affairs, has been to throw those of others into confusion, and at any rate to kindle a war in Germany.

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The King of England and his ministers have done so much justice to the King, as to conclude, that in case of any attack made on the principal states of the Empire, to which he was united, or of any violation of the Germanic laws and constitutions, his Majesty's fidelity towards his allies, his quality of guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, his constant zeal for the quiet and safety of Germany, would induce him to take part in this war, and that by this diversion they should weaken the efforts, which France was obliged to make by sea, for defending itself against the English.

The court of Hanover has not forgot its advantages in the plan, which it has formed for itself. As the interests of the British nation have for a long time been subordinate to the Elector's convenience, it had two views relative to the latter; the first of procuring to his Electoral Highness large subsidies, by arming the Hanoverians for supporting the King of Prussia's enterprizes, and thus weaken the King's operations for the defence of the liberty of the Empire, and that of the states of the allies.

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The second view has been to convert the war of Germany into a religious war, in order to gain to themselves the support of the protestant Princes. Hence a double advantage was to result: if these Princes by their succours facilitated the execution of the designs of their Britannic and Prussian Majesties, an increase of authority and power was thus procured to the Elector of Hanover, to the detriment of his neighbours, both catholic and protestants; and this is known to have long been the favourite object of his ambition: if, on the other hand, the successes should fail, a great part of the damages to be sustained was to be thrown on the allied Princes.

When the war, which had been meditated by the King of England, Elector of Hanover, in concert with the King of Prussia, had broke out in Germany; the ideas, which these two Princes had formed from the King's fidelity to his engagements, were not mistaken; the states of the Empire attacked by the King of Prussia, together with the Princes, who had most at heart the Germanic system, applied for assistance to his Majesty, both as an ally of the Empire and guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, as in virtue of his alliances merely defensive with several courts of Germany; and though the King was engaged in a personal and onerous war with England, he did not hesitate to form the generous resolution of employing the greatest part of his forces in the defence of his allies, and the maintenance of the laws of the Empire, and of the Germanic system, threatned

threatned with a total subversion from their Britan-
nic and Prussian Majesties, both as Kings and
Electors.

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The King of England was conscious, that every
kind of reason authorised his Majesty not to make
the chimerical distinction, he was for establishing
betwixt his quality of King and that of Elector;
especially when one raises a war and pays the costs,
and the other takes upon him the execution of it.

At length the Hanoverians having provoked
his Majesty's troops by hostilities of every kind,
the moment came for repelling force by force,
and to make them and their allies repent of their
outrages; and victory seconded the justice of the
King's arms, by the successive advantages which
the French troops obtained over them.

They then come to the convention of Closter-
Seven, as follows:

But the King's generous sentiments have never
shone with greater lustre than in the capitulation
of Closter-Seven. The Hanoverian army being
forced to fly before that of the Marshal de Riche-
lieu, had been obliged, as its last shift, to betake
itself to Stade. In a more dangerous condition
it could not be. It was the concern of the Duke
of Cumberland, General of the Hanoverians, be-
sides fearing the just discontent of his allies, which
was near breaking out, to save his troops from the
total destruction, with which they were threatned,
to secure the treasure of the King his father, and
to hinder the dutchies of Bremen and Verden from
becoming the theatre of the war, and to exempt
all

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all the King of England's dominions in Germany from the miseries consecutive to a general defeat, and which by a concurrence of circumstances would have been but too justifiable.

It was no favourable conjuncture for softening the victor. The King of England was sending away a very strong squadron, with land forces, for a descent, with a design of making themselves masters of Rochefort, or at least burn the docks, the storehouses; in a word, to commit all possible hostilities on the coast of France.

Besides many subjects of apprehensions for the defeated party, there was one of greater weight than all the others; past experience seemed to have inspired a grounded mistrust of any proposal from the King of England, Elector of Hanover; of this the Duke of Cumberland had recent proofs. After he had been obliged to retreat into the dutchy of Bremen, he had proposed a neutrality, and it was refused him; he had acquainted the French ministry, that he was authorised by full powers from the King his father, to treat of a peace, of a neutrality, or of a preliminary accommodation; and the King, faithful to his allies, would hearken to no proposal but in concert with them.

From all these reasons, the Duke of Cumberland did not believe that he should be able, by himself, to obtain the capitulation, which alone could secure him from all the several dangers he had to fear; but being informed of the King's great regard for the King of Denmark, his ally, he

he implored the assistance of that Prince, and got a cessation of arms to be proposed to the Marshal de Richelieu by the negociation of the Count de Lynar, the King of Denmark's minister, and under his Danish Majesty's guarantee.

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On this proposal the Marshal deliberated which was best for the Empire, to grant or refuse the capitulation. By the latter he answered the King's just vengeance; in the former he considered the advantages of keeping the Hanoverians and their allies inactive during the remainder of the war, and consequently of reserving his troops for marching without delay to Halberstadt, and by the celerity of his operations to hasten the evacuation of Saxony, and the restoration of the peace in Germany. As the King's sentiments were perfectly known to him, he immediately preferred that measure, which he judged might be most beneficial to the Empire and the allies of France, and he granted the capitulation or military convention, which the Duke of Cumberland offered to him through the Count de Lynar.

The King, such was his zeal for his allies and for the Empire, approved of the Marshal de Richelieu's conduct, and to strengthen the capitulation proposed the adding of some explications, which should so clearly fix its meaning, as to obviate any misinterpretations. These explications were of the following tenor.

1. That the cessation of hostilities should last during the whole time of the present war.

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2. That the Hanoverian troops, which were to go on the other side of the Elbe into the dutchy of Lawenburg, should not come out of it, and, together with the troops remaining on this side, should not commit any hostility neither against the King, nor against his allies; and that the French troops likewise should not commit any hostilities against them.

3. That no English troops should be admitted into the dutchies of Bremen and Verden.

4. That the troops, both the Hanoverians and those of the auxiliaries, should not serve during the present war, either against the King, or against his allies, nor join those of the King of England, nor those of his allies.

Had there on the side of the court of Hanover been the same good faith as on the King's side, these explications would have met with no difficulty.

The sense they offer had been contained in the conventions of the 8th and 10th of September, either in equivalent terms, or by a natural inference; and so just were they, that the Count de Lynar, to whom they were delivered, judged them to be the true meaning, in which the convention had been understood: and the court of Copenhagen was of the same opinion.

They then endeavoured to shew, that these explications were virtually contained in the convention, that though not agreed to, the convention remained in full force, and that the Danish minister was of this opinion. After this they go into
a long

a long and tedious account of the behaviour of the Hanoverians, Hessians, and Wolfenbuttlers, and the methods which the Hanoverian Generals took to deceive the French General, by making him believe, that they were resolved to observe punctually the convention, while at the same time they were concerting with the King of Prussia, and preparing to recommence hostilities, as soon as they should find a favourable opportunity, by the French army's being dispersed into winter quarters; and this second part they conclude as follows.

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“ One reflection shall put a period to this detail. If the Duke of Cumberland asked to capitulate, it was because he found himself in a critical position, and justly feared that, should the Marshal de Richelieu attack him, he would ruin the Hanoverian army irretrievably, and make himself master of the town of Stade, and of the depositum lodged there. Had not his situation been so dangerous in every respect, can it be supposed that a Prince, whose courage all Europe has beheld, would have asked to capitulate at the head of an army of near 40,000 men, under the cannon of the town, and in a post of difficult access and well intrenched? But this Prince, whose capacity gave him to perceive, that no retreat remained for him in case he should be beaten, preferred the glory of saving the King his father's troops, and those of his allies, to the vain honour of fighting the King's army, without any grounded hope of success. The more of his self-love he

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had by this step sacrificed to the good of mankind, and the interest of the King his father, the more sacred and inviolable did the capitulation, which he had asked and obtained, become to him. It is unquestionable in the rules of honour and war, that a capitulation is never to be asked of an enemy till at an extremity; but when reduced to it, it is not lawful to employ those arms against him, which by promise were to be laid down. Honour would look on such a procedure with indignation; and if private persons detest a treachery of this nature, is it not still more unworthy of sovereigns, who are the protectors of good faith, and who are more concerned than private persons to preserve their glory and reputation?

Accordingly the Duke of Cumberland, by laying down his military employments, was for saving himself the infamy of breaking such sacred engagements; he has proved by that step, that he is incapable of being so far wanting to himself; but in sheltering his own honour, why has he not been afraid of exposing that of the King his father?

If the King of England, Elector of Hanover, on his receiving advice of the capitulation had disowned the Duke of Cumberland his general and son, still would the King have had cause of complaint, military conventions not requiring a ratification; but, at least, there would have been in this proceeding an appearance of good faith. But to temporize during near three months, in seeking occasion for breaking the capitulation with impunity,

nity, let the French army march away for Halberstadt, wait till it was separated in the bad season, lay hold of the circumstances of a check to come out of the prescribed limits, under pretence of extending quarters, afterwards taking advantageous posts, equally contrary to the convention; make every disposition for the siege of Harbourg, without any previous declaration of war; and when all these preparations are made, and the enemy is thought to be sufficiently weakened and deceived, to be fought with advantage, to declare to him, that hostilities are to be renewed, and that the capitulation is looked on as broken, at the very same moment that the troops are marching to him, and his posts are attacked; to engage one Prince, by seducement, to violate this capitulation, and to hinder another by open force from executing it; to imprison the general of the latter, and detain his troops, and take away his son from him; to make him serve as an instrument to the treachery; this is trampling on the law of nations, on the laws of justice, honour, and good faith; the rights of the sovereignty of the States of the Empire; the ties of nature and of blood; it is to fear neither the judgment of cotemporaries, or of posterity; it is wilfully branding one's life and memory with an indelible mark of infamy; in a word, it is daring to set up and give a sanction to the pernicious maxim, "That every means is lawful to obtain one's end."

Principles and procedures so heinous are to be attributed only to the artifices and evil councils of

* This alludes to the Duke of Brunswick. See p. 123. vol. iii.

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corrupt ministers. To suspect Princes themselves of such principles, would be wanting to the respect due to them.

After the preceding faithful representation of the King's conduct, and that of the King of England, Elector of Hanover, all Europe, and especially Germany, may easily judge of the difference of the intentions of these two Princes, and it is hoped, that they will impute the blame of the consequences of this war to those only, who, in contempt of all laws and all rules, have again taken up arms to hinder the conclusion of it.

This is the cause of all sovereigns, but especially that of the Empire; it being the bad faith of the Hanoverians, which has retarded the success of the King's operations for restoring the peace of Germany; and their unjust and violent proceedings, both towards the King and the Duke of Brunswick, are a fresh breach of the public peace, and of the treaties of Westphalia.

The King will omit nothing to acquit himself of what he owes to his dignity, injured by the outrage done him by the court of Hanover. As to the Germanic body, his Majesty will redouble his efforts for preserving it from the new dangers with which it is threatened; and fulfil the engagements he has entered into both with his allies and the Empire. He is persuaded that the Electors, Princes, and States, will do justice to the uprightness and generosity of his sentiments; and he with the greater confidence hopes they will second his measures and operations, as agreeably
to

to the wish and resolution of the diet, they tend only to succour the allies of France, to maintain the Germanic system, and to restore order and peace in Germany.”

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This manifesto, to blind the eyes of the neutral potentates, and to put the best gloss upon their cause, by a new commissorial decree to the dyet of the Empire, for assistance against the King of Prussia *, was soon followed by a resolution

Its motives.

* His Imperial Majesty, after having capitulated therein the efforts he has jointly made with France, to defend the liberty of the Empire, to deliver the Saxon territories from the yoke they groan under, and restore tranquillity to Germany, takes notice of the constant opposition his Prussian Majesty has persisted in, by paying as little respect to the citation to appear and answer to the ban of the Empire issued against him, as Elector of Brandenburg, as to the resolutions, which his Imperial Majesty and the Empire took, in consequence of the measures he pursued, till the battle of the 5th of November, near Rosbach: upon which the Emperor observes, that though the attempt made on that occasion did not answer the end, for which the army of the Empire, and that of France, marched towards Saxony; yet the loss they sustained did not hinder them from keeping at hand to protect the states of the Empire, that might have been exposed to new vexations. The decree concludes with these terms:

“ We perceive but too plainly the design formed by the King of Prussia, Elector of Brandenburg, to carry his rebellion to the highest pitch. Consequently, it is necessary to oppose him by all possible means, and for this purpose to make use of all the forces that can be employed therein. His Imperial Majesty, by his rescript of the 31st of May last, has already apprized the circles of the Upper Rhine and Swabia, of the project, which the King of Prussia, Elector of Brandenburg, seemed to have formed for making irruptions into all

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Count de
Clermont
supercedes
the M.
Duke de
Richelieu.

tion in the French council to recal the Duke of Richelieu. He was superceded by the Count de Clermont, occasioned by the disgust of the whole army in Lower Saxony, with their marshal and commander in chief, for his misbehaviour towards his officers, and neglect of the soldiers; who were reduced to a most despicable condition, for want of necessaries, by his rapaciousness.

Landgrave
of Hesse
Cassel's
treaty with
France,

During the winter cessation of arms we met with a most forbidding instance of trust to the fidelity and firmness of a German ally, in the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel. A subsidiary ally, retained by a large pension in time of peace, when his friendship could not avail; and whose enmity can never hurt Great Britain, but in such conjunctures, when foreign and domestic quarrels or commotions shall require an auxiliary aid: But expecting, from appearances, that the cause of Hanover was in a losing condition, this mercenary ally, though a principal in the dispute, and connected with Great Britain by the ties of solemn

the states of the Empire, one after another, in order to draw from them, by oppressive methods, new supplies; to constrain the ruined subjects thereof to enlist in his troops, and by this means to effect the total destruction of the Empire. His Imperial Majesty therefore expects, that the Electors, Princes and States of the Empire in general, and every one of them in particular, will persist in the zeal they have hitherto shewn, and redouble their efforts to give the Prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen the necessary supplies for maintaining the troops, and every thing requisite, in order to oppose in the most vigorous manner an Elector who menaces the whole Empire, and prevent his penetrating into the most distant circles, &c."

treaties,

treaties, and of gratitude and honour, sued to be enlisted into the service of our common enemy. He commissioned the minister of the Duke de Deuxponts, to present and negotiate a plan at Versailles in his name, by which the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel proposed to enter into no engagement against the King of France and his allies: to give no assistance directly nor indirectly to the enemies of his Majesty and his allies: never to give his vote in the general or particular assemblies of the Empire, against his Majesty's interest; but to employ his interest, jointly with France, to quiet the troubles of the Empire; and to engage his troops, then in the Hanoverian army, to serve France: on condition that they should not act in the present war against his Britannic Majesty: that his dominions should be immediately restored in the condition they were in, when subdued by the French forces; exempt from all future contributions of all kinds; guaranteed, and effectually defended against any attack made upon them in resentment of this convention; and excused from furnishing his contingent in the army of the Empire, and from paying the Roman months.

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The same state-trick was played by the Duke of Brunswick, whose consanguinity with his Britannic Majesty might have possessed him with better sentiments. The Duke submitted to the following terms of neutrality. That the cities of Brunswick and Wolfenbuttle should receive a French garrison, during the war, which might use at their pleasure

Treaty of
the Duke
of Brunf-
wick with
France.

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sure the artillery, arms and military stores found in them: That the Duke's forces should be recalled from the Hanoverian army, disbanded, disarmed and sworn not to serve against the King or his allies during the war. That he should be allowed a body-guard of one battalion of foot and two squadrons of horse, subject to the regulations made by the M. Duke de Richelieu and the intendant of his army: That the Duke should pay the Roman months, and supply his contingent to the Imperial army: and that he should vote in the dyet at Ratisbon, conformable to the resolutions approved and confirmed by the Emperor: On condition of his being restored to the favour of the French King, that neither his revenues nor treasure should be touched, nor his administration of justice invaded, and that nothing further should be demanded of him, but winter-quarters for the corps destined to pass the winter in the dukedom of Brunswick.

This convention with France and Austria was signed at Vienna, by his minister, so early as on the 20th day of September 1757, but neither the Landgrave, nor this Duke had it in their power to perform their parts of those covenants. The dispatch, with which the Brunswick treaty was negotiated at Vienna, hurried its ratification. But the delay which the Hessian treaty met with, in the confused court of Versailles, protracted the signing thereof till a reverse of their fortune inspired the Landgrave with sentiments more to his ad-

advantage, which, at all times, seems to have been his ruling maxim. A. D.
1758.

As for the Duke of Brunswick, it appears, from his expostulatory letter to Prince Ferdinand, his brother, invested with the command of the Hano-verian army, and resuming the operations of war, after the convention of Closter-Seven, against the French; that he was resolved to avail himself of a neutrality, on the conditions above-recited. In which the Duke complained that the Prince had seduced his troops, decoyed his son and disgraced his family; threatening to use force for enforcing a compliance to his commands, if his son did not, according to his command, quit the army and make the tour of Holland; and if his troops were not sent home to be disarmed and disbanded. However Prince Ferdinand remained firm in his resolution. He kept both the troops and the Duke's son, with their own consent; and their bravery and success, in a little time, inspired the father with better sentiments, in regard to his connections with his new allies; reconciled him to his son, and made him to approve of measures quite contrary to the treaty he had made with the enemies of his Britannic Majesty, Elector of Hanover.

His com-
plaint
against
Prince Fer-
dinand.

Nevertheless, by this defection of the Hessians and Brunswickers, the French gained some considerable advantages. It accounts for the civilities and progress their arms met with in the Landgravate of Hesse; which country, had it been under the dominion of a fast, uncorrupt, steady friend

Remarks
thereon.

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friend to England, might have given the French such a check, as to have prevented many disasters both to that Landgravate and to their neighbouring states. And it put the Duke de Richelieu in quiet possession of Brunswick without a stroke, or loss of time.

Operations
of the Ha-
noverians.

Bremen
forced to
surrender
to the
French.

Under all these disadvantages Prince Ferdinand, by detached parties, kept the French army, even to the gates of Brunswick, in continual alarm, and cleared the whole territory of Bremen. This progress of the Hanoverian army, threatening an entire repulse of the parties posted by the French in that part of the country, the Duke de Broglie was detached with a considerable body of troops, drawn out of Otterbourg, Rothenburg, &c. and advanced toward Bremen. He threatened the inhabitants with the utmost rigour of military execution, in case they dared to make any opposition. The deputies sent by the magistrates to know his will, and desiring time to deliberate, could obtain no other answer, than “not a moment can be allowed,—the Duke de Richelieu’s orders are peremptory, and admit of no delay.” However the magistrates were not intimidated. But when the inhabitants saw the heavy cannon brought up within musket-shot of their city, scaling ladders fixed to their walls, and the gates ready to be forced open, they, by earnest importunity, prevailed with them to comply with the demand of the French general. But not till he had promised, upon his honour, that no violence should be offered, nor alteration should be made to the prejudice

dice of their rights, privileges and government, nor to the liberty, religion and commerce of the inhabitants. How honourably Broglie would have

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kept his word is uncertain. For, on the 21st of February, Prince Ferdinand being joined by a body of Prussian horse, under the command of Prince George of Holstein Gottorp, marched with the main body of his army, to drive the French from thence. In his way he dislodged them from Rattenburg, garrisoned by 150 men, who were made prisoners of war, after six hours resistance: and from Ottersberg, which the Prince found deserted; but they had left all their artillery and ammunition. Verden was also evacuated on advice of his approach. His Highness then directed his march to Bremen, of which he took quiet possession, the French having quitted that city on the 24th of February.

The French fly before Prince Ferdinand's army.

Here Prince Ferdinand received advice that the Marshal Duke de Richelieu was superceded in his command by the Count de Clermont, and that the new commander only waited the return of a courier to determine the ulterior operations of the French army in Lower Saxony, which was reduced to such a weak state by the accidents of war, the want of necessaries, the severity of the season, and by sickness, that it was not in a condition either to take the field, or to maintain their conquests. Count de Clermont found his countrymen in such a deplorable condition, that he wrote to his sovereign, "He found his Majesty's army divided into three bodies, one above
" ground,

Their miserable condition.

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“ ground, who were become a parcel of thieves
“ and vagabonds, and all in rags; another un-
“ der ground; and the third in the hospitals.”
Therefore he desired his Majesty’s instructions,
whether he should endeavour to bring the first
away, or whether he should stay till it had joined
the other two.

Difficulties
to be sur-
mounted
by Count
de Cler-
mont.

Be that as it will, it is apparent that Clermont
had been hurried away to the army with such
haste, for fear of a general mutiny, that he neither
carried discretionary orders along with him, nor
proper instructions for withdrawing his army from
that country. And his bad circumstances were so
perfectly known to Prince Ferdinand, that this
vigilant and wise general resolved to give him no
time to mend his condition, or to recruit his de-
plorable remnant.

Resolves to
retire.

From Bremen his Serene Highness resolved to
direct his rout by Hoya, to Hanover and Brunf-
wick; and to drive the enemy before him out of

Evacuates
Hanover.

his Majesty’s Electoral dominions. And where-
ever his advanced parties appeared the enemy re-
tired with such precipitation, that they left all
their sick, great part of their artillery, ammuni-
tion and baggage: and many of those, that fled,
were either killed or taken prisoners.

Hoya sur-
renders.

▼ The only stand, this once formidable army
seemed to make against the Hanoverians was at
Hoya, a strong fort upon the Weser. Here the
Count de Chabot was posted with a considerable
detachment to dispute the passage of that river.
Prince Ferdinand being informed of this resolu-
tion,

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tion, in his way to Bremen, gave orders, on the 23d of February, to the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, to repair thither with two battalions of Hanoverians, two of the Brunswick troops, and a considerable number of light troops, chasseurs and hussars, and dislodge the enemy from that post.—The hereditary Prince marched accordingly, and after a vigorous defence, and the loss of many men on the part of the enemy, he forced them, with bayonets fixed, to surrender; and made between 14 and 1500 men prisoners of war. But Count de Chabot threw himself, with two battalions, into the castle; by which means he obtained an honourable capitulation, on the 23d in the evening, to retire with his two battalions, leaving behind them their baggage and magazines. The whole loss in killed and wounded did not amount to 100 on the part of the hereditary Prince †.

The

† *Extract of a report from a Hanoverian officer to Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick.*

Hoya, Feb. 24.

In pursuance of your orders, the Prince hereditary of Brunswick began to march to Doevern, yesterday the 23d, at seven o'clock in the morning: It was eleven when we arrived there, being obliged to wait for the hussars and dragoons. From thence we marched towards Bremen, where, as we were informed, there were some floats of timber: We found but one, and two or three small boats, which might serve to carry about eight men each. We were too far advanced to think of retiring; and besides, the intelligence we had endeavoured to procure about the place, and the dispositions made by the enemy for its security, gave us some prospect of success. We then

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The reduction of Hoya cleared the way to Zell, Hanover and Brunswick, on the north side of the

then detached 30 hussars upon our left to Hassel, and Lieutenant Engel, with ten men for the van. Lieutenant Luckner passed the Weser with 30 more, in order to cover our right. The battalion of Oberg, and the squadron of dragoons, were destined to make a feint attack on the left side of the Weser. The three other battalions were to pass the river, and enter the back part of the town. As we had but one float, the passage of the troops over the river took up much time; and the wind rose so high, that after one half of the first battalion of Brunswick guards had passed, the other half was separated by it. Upon this, it was resolved to leave the rest on the other side, viz. one battalion of Oberg's, the second battalion of the Brunswick guards, the remainder of the first battalion of that regiment, and the Hessian squadron. Between four and five o'clock we marched with the regiment of Haufs, a part of the first battalion, and a haubitzer. When we were got upon the causeway, about a mile and a half from the town, through some mistake, which might have cost us very dear; our detachment fired upon four of the enemy's dragoons that were patrolling. This firing was caught from one to another, and at last became general. This unlucky accident was more than sufficient to discover us, and bring us into the greatest distress. However, a bold countenance upon the occasion became necessary; and we marched on, with the utmost diligence, to the town. We met, at first, with no opposition, and advanced as far as the bridge: There the fire grew exceeding smart, yet we never gave ground, though we were so hard pushed. But, as the whole detachment could not equally be brought up, the Prince hereditary formed the design of turning the enemy, and accordingly marched with that part of his first battalion that crossed the river with him. It was necessary, for that purpose, to go round the town, and to pass through a garden and a house, and so attack the enemy in the rear. This succeeded; and the bayonet fixed was chiefly used on this occasion; so that it may be said, humanity

the Weser, and commanded the country, as far as Minden on the south side of that river. A great number

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nity suffered for the slaughter that then happened. The enemy abandoned the bridge, and the Prince joined the Hanoverians again. The regiment of Brittany, and some parties of dragoons, were upon their march; and as we did not find ourselves absolutely sure of keeping this post, the capitulation hereafter-mentioned was granted. The Lorraine guards are demolished. I cannot yet exactly tell their loss, but it is very great. On our side Major Kropf is mortally wounded. Captain Koppelow has a slight wound in his thigh. There are two men killed, and ten wounded, among the subalterns and private men. The regiment of Haufs had twelve men killed, and sixty wounded. The officers, who particularly distinguished themselves, were M. de la Motte, who has acted with great prudence and courage. Lieutenant Engel commanded the attack on the left side of the river, and did alone, by his well-judged conduct, fix the enemy's whole attention, which cannot be sufficiently commended. Captain Bourbon, of Haufs's, behaved extremely well. Mess. Richler, Koppelow the captain, and his brother the lieutenant, as well as ensign Vitzhum, have all behaved as men of courage and honour ought to do.

By the capitulation of Hoya, the garrison went out with all the honours of war, and the officers with their baggage. The Count de Chabot gave his parole of honour, to deliver up all the cannon, ammunition, and provisions, belonging to the French King. All the prisoners taken during the action, as well officers as private men, to be treated as such; but the chaplains, surgeons, and officers servants, to be released.

List of the French prisoners of war, taken at the attack of Hoya, Feb. 23.

Of the regiment of Brittany, two captains, three lieutenants, three of them wounded; 56 private, 15 of whom wounded.—Of Gardes Lorraines, five captains, six lieutenants, four

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number of French hussars of Poleretsky's regiment had taken post at Nord Drebber. Against whom the

of them wounded; 305 private, 27 of whom wounded.—Of the royal volontiers, one lieutenant, one private.—Of gens d'armes, one captain.—Of the mestre de camp general, one aid major, and 28 private.—Harcourt's dragoons, two private.—Dampier's horse, one ditto, 19 officers, and eight commissaries.—Sick made prisoners in the hospital at Memsen 250.—In all 670.

An abstract of a letter from a French officer at Bremen.

“ I was going to write to you from Bremen, when, on the 24th past in the morning, we were informed that the hereditary Prince of Brunswick had stormed and taken Hoya, which was bravely defended by M. de Chabot, with the regiment of Gardes Lorraines, two companies of grenadiers, some piquets of the regiment of Bretagne, and a detachment of Mestre de Camp dragoons. Finding himself surrounded on all sides, and upon the point of being forced, after a considerable loss of men, he retired into the Old Castle, where he capitulated, and obtained the liberty to withdraw to the next French post, with all the troops he had with him, except such as were intercepted, and which have been made prisoners of war. This happened on the 23d in the evening, and followed the taking of Verden, which M. de St. Chamans found himself obliged to abandon on the 20th, and to retire towards Bremen, on account of the great floods. It was then, on the 24th in the morning, that we heard at Bremen of the fate of Hoya; and M. de St. Germain, judging that he could not be of any use in this post to Count Clermont, immediately resolved to abandon it, after he had sent orders to all the regiments, as well foot as horse and dragoons, to repair, that same evening, to Bassum. He left Bremen, and charged me with the care of evacuating it, as soon as the artillery and the baggage of the garrison should have been sent away; which I executed about two o'clock in the afternoon. The hospital and magazines were

the Prussian huffars of the advanced guard were detached; and they executed their instructions so effectually

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were left at Bremen for want of carriages and time, having no particular charge of them. I happily rejoined M. de St. Germain in the night at Bassum. We passed the night under arms, because we were not far from Hoya, and uninformed of the designs of the enemy. On the 25th we passed the Hunte, and quartered at Wildhusen, which place we quitted on the 26th at ten in the morning, in order to proceed to Vecht, and, upon intelligence that a colonel of foot, whose force we were ignorant of, had crossed the Hunte, we came and passed the night of the 28th at Forde, and arrived the day before yesterday at this place, where we found the regiment of Champagne, the regiment of colonel general dragoons, and two regiments of horse. The remains of the Gardes Lorraines, who are about 200 men (for the broken companies, which capitulated with M. de Chabot at Hoya, were gone with a like number at Nienburg) joined us two days ago by the route by Quakenbrugge, and were sent yesterday to escorte our heavy baggage to Munster, because there was not sufficient forage here for their subsistence.

As there is a great want of discipline, and the spirit of marauding is not easily rooted out, we have many stragglers in our march, that either are already, or will be, made prisoners. At Hoya were taken the baggage of the Prince de Beauveau, Comte de Laval, and Duc de Coigny, and likewise those of M. de Lille-Boune, and of the regiment of Harcourt. M. de Lavalette has also lost some things; and some peasant-waggon, laden with the effects of M. de St. Germain, fell into the hands of the Hanoverians at Wildhusen. We have no direct news of the Comte de Clermont; we have only just learnt, by an officer, who quitted Hanover on the 26th, that the general was acquainted with the abandoning of Bremen, which he had much approved of. Our corps here [at Osna-burg] actually consists of 19 battalions, 12 squadrons of dragoons, and as many horse, without including the corps under

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effectually, that after a great slaughter, they brought off 300 horses, a pair of kettle-drums, ten standards, 130 hussars, two lieutenants, two captains, and their Colonel Poleretsky dangerously wounded.

French
evacuate
Hanover.

While these detachments carried all before them, the terror and panic of the enemy increased at the motion of the main army, which Prince Ferdinand marched in two divisions, one on the right and the other on the left of the Weser. So that nothing was thought of at Zell, Hanover and Brunswick, but how to retreat with the greatest safety, not only from the victorious troops advancing apace to drive them out, but from the enraged peasants and inhabitants, whom they had robbed and ruined, with the most inhuman acts of rapine and oppression. Indeed, there was no alternative. They could not trust to their own strength for defence. They must retire in the best manner they could and quickly. The strength of the Electorate was at their gates. Accordingly Zell was evacuated, on the 26th of February, by the two generals the Marquis Armentieres and the Marquis de Rochepine, and the garrison under their command. Hanover city, on the 28th of the same month, by the Prince de Clermont and the Duke de Randan; in whose commendation for the single and only act of humanity done by his countrymen in the progress of their arms

M. de Chabot. Yesterday we fixed upon a position here, to wait for and fight the enemy, if they arrive, unless we receive orders to the contrary."

hitherto,

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hitherto, we read a most severe reflexion upon the conduct of the French nation, That they are, by far, the most unpolite and cruel of all christian nations. This governor of Hanover city did no more ^u than prevent the soldiers plundering the poor

^u They reserved the payment of the arrears of the heavy contributions, and carried off Baron Munchausen, counsellor of the regency, and Mons. d'Hardenburg, a privy-counsellor, as hostages for the same.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman at Zell to his friend at London, dated March 9.

Since the 14th of August we have been plagued with the French; from that time we have had forty troopers quartered in our house, whom we have been obliged to furnish with beds, fire, candles and greens. They have ruined our house, furniture, gardens, pales, &c. They have taken by force our hay, corn, &c. and left us nothing, so that we were obliged to sell and kill our cows, and sometimes we have been three days together without bread. This misfortune has happened to every body. We have been robbed besides of our pewter, copper, and many other things of value. We are a ruined people in this country, and God knows how we shall or can maintain ourselves and get bread for our families. What we have lost amounts to many thousand crowns; nay, we cannot yet justly tell what our losses are. The hospital of St. Ann's, the orphan house, with the children in it, and the whole Friken Wiese is burnt by the French.

On the 14th of December the French burnt, just behind our house, fourteen vessels from Bremen, laden with victuals; so that we expected every moment to see our houses on fire. The loss of those vessels amounted to more than 550,000 crowns, and nothing was saved out of them; so that the merchants at Bremen have been great sufferers thereby. I am not able to give you a true description of our circumstances: it would melt the heart of a barbarian to behold our condition;

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Behaviour
at Zell,
Hanover
and Brunf-
wick.

Retire to
Hamelen.

Throw a
garrison
into Min-
den.

poor citizens, before they themselves ran away; and ordered the magazines of provisions, which they could not remove, nor sell at a low price, to be distributed to the necessitous poor inhabitants; on whom they had lived several months, at free quarters. Which implies, That the French shewed no bowels of compassion towards the inhabitants of other places in their power; but plundered, burnt and distressed them to the last extremity. Of which the neighbouring cities of Zell and Bremen furnish rigid examples.

The forces, which evacuated those cities in Hanover passed the Weser, and retired in pretty good order to Hamelen, where the Prince of Clermont assembled all the troops he could possibly collect, having thrown between 3 and 4000 men into Minden, not with any hopes of preserving that fortress; but only by way of expedient, to

for nothing is left us but life, and what is life without subsistence? though I hope God will be our best help; he knows how to find ways and means to support us.

I have been this week in the country, and have found most people there, as I may say, naked: they creep together like sheep, to keep one another warm, and they have nothing left to live upon. Most of them have lost their cattle, horses, waggons, &c. Cocks and hens are a great rarity.

To dwell a little longer on our present situation; I must add, that the French have left here about 380 sick. To their sorrow they sent, last year, 119,000 men from France, and now they have not 46,000 left; the rest died in the hospitals, or fell in battles and skirmishes.

Our ramparts and fortifications here are ruined, and our woods and gardens look so much like wildernesses, that few know their own property.

gain

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gain time by retarding the rapidity of Prince Ferdinand's progress, who was marching, in person, to attack that city. Such was the wretched state of the French at this time; as to expose themselves to the loss of such a number of men, merely for the sake of retarding the march of the enemy at their heels, for a few days only. For, on the 5th of March the hereditary Prince invested the place, and summoned the town to surrender, without effect. Then General Oberg, who commanded a considerable corps on the north side of the Weser, of which the hereditary Prince commanded the van, approached the town in order to form the siege, while General Sporken advanced with another body towards the town on the south side of the river. But the heavy roads and badness of the weather, by retarding the carriage of the heavy cannon, prevented the opening of the trenches till the 9th of March. From which day the attack was carried on so briskly, that the garrison was forced to capitulate, and to surrender themselves prisoners of war on the 14th of the same month.

Minden
besieged.Capitu-
lates.

Prince Ferdinand having thus secured his rear, pushed forward with his whole army to Hamelen, where the French had their head-quarters. But, on his arrival at that station, nothing was to be found but a great number of sick and wounded, and such part of their magazines as the French had not time to destroy. From hence he pursued them to Paderborn, where he was informed, the Prince de Clermont had fixed his head-quarters on

Hamelen
evacuated.French re-
tire to Pa-
derborn.

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To the
Rhine.

the 18th. But the Hanoverian army having next day penetrated as far as Melle, the French hastened their retreat, and fled as fast as they could to the Rhine, and were joined in their march by the troops, that had been distributed in Embden, Cassel, and the Landgravate of Hesse, which the French evacuated on the 21st of March, making no stop till they arrived at Wesel, where the Prince of Clermont established his head-quarters, and fortified it with all the diligence and strength in his power^w; having sent the remains of his army over the Rhine.

Prince Fer-
dinand's
requisition
of English
troops.

Prince Ferdinand, at his first entrance upon the command of the Hanoverian army, had strongly urged the necessity of a supply of British cavalry, to facilitate his operations. How well inclined the British councils were to grant his request, may be easily collected from the proceedings of the parliament then sitting; as well as from the disposition of the cabinet. But there was no way to send those troops with safety. Holland was tied up by a neutrality, from granting a passage, and the French army was in possession of all the countries along the Elbe and Weser. Embden was looked upon as the best landing-place. But Embden was then in the hands of the French. Yet a small squadron of English ships of war might surprize it, and wrest it out of their possession, and protect that place from future insult: and open a

Reasons
for driving
the French
out of
Embden.

^w The garrison consisted of six squadrons and twelve battalions.

free port for British troops transported to Germany. A. D. 1758.

With this intention Commodore Holmes was dispatched with the Seahorse and Strombulo. With these he came to an anchor between Delfziel and Knock, on the 17th of March, notwithstanding the precaution taken by the enemy to render the navigation of the river hazardous, by not suffering the buoys to be laid this year, for the direction of its navigation: without which assistance it was impossible, as they thought, for that port to be recovered. But the enemy's surprise and confusion greatly increased on the 18th, when the Commodore, with his little squadron cut off all their communication down the river, by stationing his ships between Knock and Embden. Commodore Holmes dispatched with two men of war. Arrives before Embden.

The enemy doubled the number of workmen upon the batteries they had begun, and set about erecting three more towards the sea with the utmost expedition, as the only quarter from whence they now had reason to expect an attack. But the intelligence from the country, and the instructions, which they daily received from the Prince of Clermont, put them ^x upon preparations, at the same time, to evacuate the place upon the first command for them to join the main body of their army, then flying before Prince Ferdinand ^y. Accordingly, A shew of defence.

^x The garrison consisted of 1300 French foot, 1200 horse, 1100 Austrian foot, and two companies of artillery, of 60 each, in all 3720.

^y It was first intended by the French to keep Embden at all events. To make it a place of arms; and to convey all their

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Retire.

at six in the morning of the 19th, the French troops were under arms, and marched out of the town before night; and the Austrians followed on the 20th, at nine in the morning.

Lose two
baggage
vessels.

The diligence with which the works of the batteries towards the sea were continued, prevented all suspicion of this kind, and favoured the transportation of their baggage and cannon up the river in small vessels by night: which otherwise might have been obstructed by the English from their ships, who got no scent of their real motions till about noon on the 20th. The commodore, informed of the enemy's flight, and that one of their vessels, with baggage and artillery, was waiting behind a point of land, at some distance from his ships, to run up the river by the next tide; he, as soon as he could stem the tide, dispatched an armed cutter, and two boats well armed, which came up with her and took her: and they, reinforced with another boat, continued the chase up the river, under the command of Captain Taylor. In this pursuit our men acted with the greatest bravery and diligence. They proceeded amidst the enemy's fire, who lined both sides of the river; which was briskly returned from our boats. They saw three of the enemy's vessels, but could come up with only one

their magazines to that sea-port, till this critical moment, that they saw it blocked up, unexpectedly, by an English squadron, which seemed, in all probability, to be only the van of a more powerful squadron. A convincing proof of the importance of this service.

of

of them, which Captain Taylor attacked, run her a-ground, and carried her in sight of their army, and under their fire, besides what he received from the vessel itself. But the officers and men on board the store-vessel left it, to recover the shore: in which attempt some of them were dropt by the fire from our boats. Night coming on too quick, Captain Taylor was obliged to lie off for awhile, and the other two vessels, with cannon, got under the cover of their army, before day-light, and escaped.

Thus the port of Embden was recovered by two ships only, and they of small force, without the loss of a man on our side; on board the first vessel that was taken, was found the son of Lieutenant-Colonel Scholleens^z, of Prince Charles of Lorrain's regiment, one corporal, one pioneer, some baggage, and little implements of war, and some money, for the payment of the troops.— On board the second vessel they took a major, the commissary of war, an adjutant, a guard of private men, and three hostages, whom the enemy had carried off from Embden, for security of certain contributions they had imposed upon that city, and left unpaid.

During this whole retreat the French were closely attended by the Prussian hussars and Hanoverian hunters, who killed and made prisoners a considerable number of their men, and seized many of their baggage-waggons, and some of

^z He, being but a boy, was sent a-shore, with his baggage, and returned to his father.

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Vechte
taken.

French
closely pur-
sued.

their artillery. They not only deserted and left great numbers of sick and wounded to the mercy of a provoked enemy; but they left behind them provisions and forage, of which they stood in great want. They forgot, or neglected, till it was too late, to call in the garrison ^a stationed in the small fortrefs of Vechte, on the north-west of Diepholt, who were obliged to surrender prisoners of war, and to deliver up a compleat train of 100 pieces of French cannon and mortars, to a party of 150 men sent from Bremen.

As soon as Prince Ferdinand was rightly informed of the rout and disposition of the enemy, who retreated in three columns, one column consisting of the troops which had occupied Hesse, on the left; another, of the troops that marched from Paderborn, under the immediate command of the Prince of Clermont, which marched in the middle; and the third, of the troops which came from Munster, under the command of M. de Villemurs, on the right; and that the Duke de Broglie was the least advanced of the whole; his serene Highness detached the Prince of Holstein, with a large body of horse and foot, to pursue the enemy, and to use the best of his endeavours to break in upon them. These orders were vigorously executed. The rear-guard of the French was attacked in the neighbourhood of Saeft, in the county of Mark: a considerable number were taken prisoners, with ten pieces of cannon 24

^a Consisting of seven companies.

pounders,

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pounders, five 6 pounders, and a considerable magazine. The small party, which the French left in the county of Bentheim, fell a prey also to a party of Hanoverian hunters and hussars, who attacked two Austrian regiments near Gelhausen, cut twenty of them to pieces, made many prisoners, and brought off twelve baggage-waggons.

After this long march, and fatiguing service, Prince Ferdinand, duly informed that the French army was not to be pursued at present any further with advantage; having also delivered the Landgravate of Hesse and his Britannic Majesty's German dominions from the French invaders, he thought it the most proper time to halt, and for his army to go into winter-quarters of refreshment in the bishopric of Munster; ready to snatch the first opportunity to drive the Prince de Clermont from Wesel, and to carry his victorious arms beyond the Rhine, as soon as he could obtain his requisition of a body of English cavalry to support the attack. And even in this state of inactivity, if it can be so called, the Hanoverian hussars, posted at Dorstein, made frequent incursions as far as Wesel ^b.

Prince Ferdinand goes into quarters of refreshment.

The French ministry could not look upon this destruction of their main army, and the disgrace of the Gallic arms, fleeing before a handful of

Conduct and confusion of the French ministry.

^b Stragglers were extremely ill treated by the peasants. But the hussars only disarmed and plundered them, desiring them to tell their officers, "That such soldiers, as they, did not deserve to be made prisoners."

Ger-

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Germans; and before those very men, whom they had a few months before treated with contempt and derision, penned up in a corner and obliged to disarm themselves, or to seek their own security in an eventual cessation of arms; without great confusion and serious reflexion for the glory of their nation and the consequences of a retreat, which might encourage their enemy to cross the Rhine. The people were sadly convinced of the fatal effects of cabals and favoritism in the cabinet of their Sovereign, and it is said that the old Marshal Duke de Bellisle took upon him, on this emergency, to deliver the sentiments of the nation in the presence of his King in council, with a spirit of patriotism that does honour to his name.

The speech
of M. Bell-
isle in
council.

“ I know, said he, the state of our armies. It gives me great grief, and no less indignation; for besides the real evil of the disorder in itself, the disgrace and infamy, which it reflects on our government, and on the whole nation, are still more to be apprehended. The choice of officers ought to be made with great deliberation. I know but too well to what length the want of discipline, pillaging and robbing have been carried on by the officers and common men, after the example set them by their generals. It mortifies me to think I am a Frenchman; my principles are known to be very different from those, which are now followed. I had the satisfaction to retain the esteem, the friendship, and the consideration of all the princes, noblemen, and even of all

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all the common people in all parts of Germany, where I commanded the King's forces. They lived there in the midst of abundance; every one was pleased; it fills my soul with anguish to find that, at present, the French are held in execration; that every body is dispirited, and that many officers publickly say things that are criminal and highly punishable. The evil is so great that it demands immediate redress. I can easily judge, by what passes in my own breast, of what our generals feel from the speeches they must daily hear in Germany, concerning our conduct; which indeed would lose much, to be compared with that of our allies. I must particularly complain of the delays and irregularity of the posts; a service which is very ill provided for. I am likewise displeased with the negligence of our generals in returning answers; which is a manifest breach of their duty. Had I commanded the army, a thousand things, which are done, would not have been done; and others, which are neglected, would have been executed. I would have multiplied my communication; I would have had strong posts on the right, on the left, in the center, lined with troops. I would have had magazines in every place. The quiet and satisfaction of the country should have been equal to their present disaffection, at being harrassed and plundered; and we should have been as much beloved, as we are at present abhorred. The consequences are too apparent to need being mentioned. I must insist on these things, because late

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late redress is better than the continuation of the evil."

Vigorous
resolu-
tions.

This plain narrative of facts produced vigorous resolutions. The army on the Rhine was augmented with all imaginable diligence; troops were put in motion every where, from the interior parts of the kingdom, towards the seat of action, and the fortifications, on the frontiers, were put into the best posture of defence, that time and the state of the nation would allow. And to keep up the spirits of the people, who were more inclined to peace than war, a report was industriously spread, that a reconciliation would be soon effected by the mediation of Spain.

M. Bell-
isle's letter
to the co-
lonels.

The M. Duke de Bellisle, who at this juncture acted as secretary of state, did not confine his endeavours to reform the army, by his firmness in the cabinet: he wrote a letter to all the colonels of the infantry in the King's name, threatening them with dismissal from, and loss of their regiments, in case they continued any longer to connive at the scandalous practice, which had been introduced amongst them, of the sale of commissions, to the great discouragement of merit, the extinction of that necessary emulation, which animates an officer in time of battle, and to the relaxation of discipline throughout the whole army.

Swedes re-
sume the
war unwill-
ingly.

The Swedes were prevailed with, to quit the island of Rugen, in which they had been blocked up by 15,000 Prussians, now called upon a distant service, to observe the motions of the Russians in Pomerania. They resumed their operations about
the

the end of April : but with such a general aversion, both at court and in the field itself, that they gave the King of Prussia very little concern for the effects of their arms at present ; their activity not depending upon a national quarrel, or the inclination of their King, but only upon the factious councils of a corrupt senate, pensioners to France.

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The Russians, who had retreated with so much precipitation back towards their own country, after the action ^c, which they had with M. Lehwald, were put under the command of General Fermer ; M. Apraxin being disgraced and dismissed from the command in chief, on account of that retreat, for which he had no orders from his court, as pretended : for since that time the Czarina had been worked upon by various practices of profit, interest and intrigue, to sign her accession to the quadruple-alliance with Austria, France and Sweden, and to augment the number of her troops to act against Prussia ; which she now divided into two separate bodies under Generals Fermer and Brown, with express command to return into Prussia, notwithstanding the rigorous season. General Fermer executed his orders with such activity, that he marched back, and got possession of Konigsberg, the capital of Ducal Prussia, on the 22d of January, without opposition. Fermer, having ravaged the country, retired again, and joined the main body of his army, which had en-

Russians
return into
Prussia.

Seized Ko-
nigsberg.

^c See page 409, &c. Vol. II.

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camped on the Vistula, not far from Dantzick, with a design to seize upon that free city : as appeared from the demand of the Russian agent there, that the magistrates should admit a Russian garrison. But they peremptorily refused, and stood in their own defence so resolutely, that General Fermer did not think proper to carry matters to extremity : so that he passed the Vistula, and directed his march towards Pomerania ; where Count Dohna had assembled an army to oppose him, which occasioned this general once more to retire ; and, after plundering all before him, he rejoined his main body, to wait, as it was thought, the final orders of his court.

Army of
the Empire
assembles.

The army of the Empire began to re-assemble in March, near Bamberg in Franconia, under the Prince of Deux Ponts. Whose proximity attracted the Prussian hero's immediate attention ; who detached 30,000 men, under the command of Prince Henry of Prussia, to watch their motions, and to prevent their junction with the French ; who were forming a new army for that purpose ; and might have completed the ruin of his Prussian Majesty, by that means ; had not Prince Ferdinand defeated their intentions, by cutting them out sufficient work to guard their own frontiers on the Rhine, and our naval armaments found employ for their troops in the defence of their own coasts. For, it is evident from every step that had been taken between France and her allies, during the winter, that they had combined to act in concert, with one fatal blow

The inten-
tion of
France and
her allies.

to

to crush the King of Prussia, and then to make an easy prey of the British allies, and to force all the states and potentates on the continent to unite with them in one common league to distress and ruin the British trade and interest, and thereby to destroy her strength and naval power; which can't exist without commerce, and commerce can't be carried on with advantage, without an interest to circulate its produce amongst foreign nations. It could avail us nothing had we the manufacturing of all the fleeces in the world, the sale of all the produce of the Indies; the monopoly of the American fisheries; and the exclusive trade with North America and the coast of Africa, had we no vent, no market to put off, and to dispose of our produce, manufacture and imports for money and the comforts and necessaries of life. Foreign trade is the support of our riches and strength: therefore every obstruction in that channel must be watched, prevented, or cleared away in due time, with the utmost diligence and vigour.

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1758.

Our inter-
est on the
continent.

The Austrians had assembled a grand army near Konigsgratz in Bohemia, under M. Count Daun, ready to seize the first opportunity to enter Silesia and Saxony; the center, to which all the armies in motion against his Prussian Majesty seemed to tend.

Austrians
in motion.

His Prussian Majesty, thus surrounded and threatened with so many powerful armies, was obliged to have recourse to stratagem, as well as to arms. But first he turned the blockade of Schwiednitz into a siege. He opened the trenches on the

King of
Prussia's
operations.

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Recovers
Schweid-
nitz.

The coun-
ty of
Glatz.

Detaches a
party into
Bohemia.

Provides
for the se-
curity of
Saxony.

His great
abilities.

third of April, and in defiance of the grand Austrian army, reduced the garrison to surrender prisoners of war in thirteen days. By these first fruits of this year's campaign, the Austrians lost 7000 men, of which number the garrison originally consisted; but 4000 had been cut off during the blockade by sickness, &c. and the Austrians were totally driven out of Silesia. In the mean time General Fouquet marched with a considerable detachment into the county of Glatz, and obliged the Austrians under General Jahnus to abandon their posts in that country: and his Majesty in person marched, with a part of his army, towards Graßan and Friedland, and detached a part of it to Fronteneau in Bohemia; which dislodged an Austrian garrison, and opened a way into Bohemia, for the Prussian light horse, who raised contributions, and harraßed the outposts of the enemy, even as far as the main guard of Count Daun's army.

Saxony was put into a posture of defence with 30,000 men under Prince Henry of Prussia. And Silesia was covered from any surprize and incursions of the Russians, by a considerable body posted between Wolau and Glogau; besides the army under Count Dohna, in the eastern parts of Pomerania.

But what shewed the generalship of his Prussian Majesty; he not only provided these forces for those particular services; but he posted them in such a manner as to preserve a communication with each other; so as to enable them to act
for

for mutual support: and at the same time covered his real design or plan of operations. A. D.
1758.

By this position of the Prussian army, Count Daun was induced to believe, that it was the King's intention to open the campaign by marching into Bohemia: so that all their attention was taken up to oppose an attempt of that kind. But, all on a sudden, his Prussian Majesty gave the Austrians the slip. For with 50,000 men, he had collected near Neifs in Silesia, he penetrated into Moravia, by a rapid march, and at Troppau, which he reached in three days from Neifs, he divided this army into two columns, the first under M. Keith, to take the rout of Jagerndorf, who set out on the 25th of April: the other under the King in person on the 27th, both directing their march to the plain of Olmutz, which they entered by Sternberg and Gibau on the 3d of May. Deceives
Count
Daun.

Slips past
the Austri-
an army.

Joins his
parties and
directs his
march to
Olmutz.

General Fouquet had orders to remain in the county of Glatz, and watch the motions of Count Daun. But, as soon as he perceived by the enemy's motions, that they also were preparing to march into Moravia, this general went to Neifs, and took under his convoy the artillery and warlike stores that were requisite for besieging Olmutz. On the 12th he arrived at Gibau without any molestation from the enemy, and immediately passed the Moraw at Littau, where some Austrians were made prisoners. On the 12th the King advanced towards Olitschau, and drove away a body of the enemy's cavalry posted there, who retired beyond Prostnitz. Near that town the Prince of Wur-

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1758.

Siege of
Olmütz.

temberg fixed his camp, consisting of four regiments of dragoons, one of hussars, and some battalions of fuzileers. On the 27th of May the trenches were opened before Olmütz, on the side of Tobitschau; and the other side of the river, towards Dolein, was invested by a regiment of dragoons, two battalions, and 500 hussars. The King drove the Austrian and Saxon cavalry, under General Ville, beyond Wischaw, and his army took possession of all the posts proper for covering the body of troops, that were to be employed in the siege. The Margrave Charles occupied the post of Neustadt, the Prince of Anhalt-Deffau that of Littau, and the King took post on the eminences between Proßnitz and Olitschau.

On the 10th of June, General Putkammer, arrived with a convoy from Silesia, without meeting any molestation: but, as this convoy was not sufficient to finish the siege, measures were taken to bring up another. Mean while the vanguard of the enemy arrived in Moravia; General Harsch, who commanded it, pitched his camp on the rising grounds of Aller-Heiligen, opposite to Littau. Marshal Daun arrived with his army at Gewicz, and almost at the same time a body of five or 6,000 of the enemy advanced to Proßnitz; which obliged M. Keith to place Bareuth's dragoons near Wisternitz, and the independant companies at Bistrowan and Holian. The enemy's design was to throw succours into the town: and in the night of the 8th of June, they attacked a battalion of volunteers, whom they forced to retire. Ba-

M. Daun
marches to
its relief.

reuth's

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reuth's regiment, who had been on horseback the whole night, thought that they might return into the camp without waiting for the coming back of their patrols; but scarce had the dragoons entered their tents, when the enemy forced their main guard, penetrated into the camp, and sent the reinforcement into Olmutz; even Bareuth's regiment would have been ruined had not the battalion of Nimchewsky seasonably come to their assistance. This success of the Austrians made them fond of nocturnal expeditions: thrice they attacked the regiment of Zeithen at Kosteletz, who always repulsed them with loss. The independant battalions of le Noble and Rapin were not so successful. They belonged to the corps under the Margrave Charles, and were posted at Sternberg. They were to march to Bahrn, to cover the convoy which arrived on the 10th, and were so very roughly handled by the Pandours, that they lost three small pieces of cannon, and near 400 men. Mean while considering the succours that had been thrown into the town, and the enemy's position at Prerau, it was absolutely necessary to straiten Olmutz still more, on the other side of the Morave. The corps under the Margrave Charles marched thither, and took post in such manner that its right kept possession of Commotau and the bridge there on the Morave, and the left reached to the bridge of Hollitz.

Olmutz reinforced.

Olmutz straitened.

On the 20th Marshal Daun with his army came down from the hills, and encamped at Predlitz, between Wischaw and Prostnitz. A few days

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after, this general received advice, that the Prussians were bringing a large convoy from Silesia. The body of forces which escorted this convoy consisted of eight battalions, and near 4000 recovered sick, who were regimented for the sake of order in the march. The whole set out from Troppau on the 25th. Marshal Daun thought it his duty to avail himself of this opportunity to compel the Prussians, without the hazard of a battle, to raise the siege of Olmutz. For this end, he detached General Jahnus, who was at Muglitz, towards Bahrn, and ordered a detachment to march from Prerau to Stadt-Liebe, that the convoy might be attacked on two sides; and in order to deceive, he drew near to the Prussian army, placing his right towards Kojetein, and his left at a little hill very near to Predlitz. However, this motion deceived nobody; and the safety of the convoy being the principal object, the King sent out General Ziethen, with three battalions, two regiments of horse, and 900 hussars, to meet it. The convoy was attacked on the 28th, before General Ziethen came up; but the enemy were repulsed and routed, and lost three pieces of cannon and some hundred men. Marshal Daun having sent a considerable reinforcement to the troops he had before detached, the convoy was again attacked on the 29th, between Bautsch and Domstadt. Four hundred waggons, four battalions, and about 1000 troopers, had scarce opened the march, and passed the defiles of Domstadt, when the enemy fell upon the convoy with their whole force,

Prussian
convoy
taken.

force, both on the side of Bahrn, and on that of Domstadt. The head of the convoy was cut off from the rest, and, though General Zeithen did, on this occasion, all that could be expected from a good officer, he was obliged to abandon his waggons, and retire to Troppau. The head of the convoy arrived at the army on the 29th in the evening. The enemy took near 600 prisoners, among whom was General Putkammer. This unhappy event obliged the King to raise the siege of Olmutz: whereas had the whole convoy arrived safe, the place could not have held out above a fortnight, notwithstanding the gallant defence of General Marshal, the governor.

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The loss.

Siege raised.

On the 1st of July the King, with his whole army, took the road to Bohemia. Marshal Keith brought away all his artillery, excepting four mortars, and one 24 pounder, the carriage of which was broke^d. This general marched by Littau to Muglitz and Tribau; the King marched by Konitz. The vanguard, under the command of the Prince of Anhalt Dessau, seized, at Leutomissel, an Austrian magazine of meal and forage. The Generals Buccow and Laudon followed the army in its march, but without approaching too near it.

Prussians retire.

Leutomissel taken.

In this transaction there appears to have been great generalship exerted on both sides; by Count Daun to defeat the besiegers, and by the King of Prussia in raising the siege and in his retreat. Count

Remarks on this siege, &c.

^d The loss of men were between seven and 800 Prussians killed, wounded, and prisoners.

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In regard
to Count
Daun.

Daun being too weak to force the Prussians to battle, and to relieve Olmutz by a pitched battle, encamped his army in the mountains, between Gewitz and Littau, whose natural strength secured him from a surprize, and whose situation enabled him, in like manner as the situation of his camp at Kolin had done before, to receive daily reinforcements; to draw supplies of all necessaries from Bohemia; to intercept the convoys necessary for the effectual success of the besiegers; to relieve the besieged occasionally, and to keep up their spirits for defence, till opportunity should serve to raise the siege.

To the
King of
Prussia.

The extensive works of Olmutz, which the Prussians were obliged to invest, required a greater number of forces than were employed, to do it completely. This was the reason of so much success in the nocturnal skirmishes, by which the Austrians seldom failed to introduce provisions, ammunition and men into the town. The forage about the city had been previously destroyed. This obliged the Prussian cavalry to seek for it, at a great distance; which not only fatigued, but exposed them to surprize from detachments out of the mountains. From whence also parties were continually alarming the camp of the besiegers, by night; and fell upon different quarters, while the garrison sallied with success to retard the operations of their enemy. However this did not discourage his Prussian Majesty. Under all these difficulties, he finished the first parallel; and proceeded with such vigour, that the place seemed inevitably

evitably lost; when all his hopes evaporated in that one accident, the intercepting of the grand convoy near the defiles of Domstadt. A loss that was not to be retrieved by the Prussians in their situation, and without which it was both dangerous and in vain for them to persist in the siege. A. D.
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His Prussian Majesty deprived of the means to continue the siege, was now to retreat with such precaution, as might preserve his army from the accidents, which commonly befall an enemy retreating with a powerful enemy at his back. Daun was prepared to seize every opportunity of advantage. But that general's vigilance and penetration were frustrated: the King maintained the siege with more vigour than before the loss of the convoy till the 1st day of July: when he suddenly decamped in the night; and instead of marching into Silesia, to protect that country from the insult of the triumphant enemy, ready to follow him with advantage, he took the rout of Bohemia, whose frontiers had been left unguarded by his adversary: and by this invasion he transferred the seat of war from his own into his enemy's dominions.

How this answered the end appears by the advantages his Prussian Majesty's arms gained in the execution of this plan. A large body of Austrians, under General Laci, which were posted at Gibau, attacked a party of grenadiers, who occupied the village of Krenau, and made an appearance of their intention to dispute the pass: but they were soon dislodged: and there was an attempt Favour-
able skir-
mishes in
his retreat.

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attempt to seize the provisions and artillery in their passage over the hills of Hollitz. The enemy cannonaded General Rutzow and his party, that conducted them. But M. Keith coming up in due time, attacked the Austrians in the rear, obliged them to fly with precipitation, and took six officers and 300 men prisoners.

Konings-
gratz, &c.
surrenders.

The King proceeded through Leutomysfel to the important post of Koningsgratz. General Buccow had got there before him, with 7000 men well entrenched behind the Elbe all round the city; and had broken down the bridges over that river. His Majesty determined to attack the Austrian trenches, ordered the bridges to be repaired with all expedition: which struck such a panic into the enemy that Buccow retired, and left the King to take possession of Koningsgratz without opposition. After which he had no more to do for his safety in this situation, than to disperse a body of Austrians, which had taken post between Koningsgratz and Hollitz to intercept his artillery, &c. and that being effected, his whole army encamped near Koningsgratz. So that notwithstanding the miscarriage before Olmutz, his Prussian Majesty found himself in a condition to stem the force of the Austrian army, and to lay Bohemia under heavy contributions, while his brother, Prince Henry, kept the army of the Empire in play, and from executing their design upon Dresden.

But if we change the prospect and look towards the Rhine, we shall see greater advantages: Prince Ferdinand,

Ferdinand, having refreshed his victorious troops, spent no time in fruitless exercise. He only waited till all his troops from distant quarters could be assembled: their rendezvous was at Notteln. They marched from thence to Dulmen, where the head quarters were fixed, on the 27th in the morning. While a detachment, consisting of several battalions and squadrons, together with Scheiter's light troops, and Lukner's hussars, assembled on the 26th at Dorsten and in its neighbourhood, under the command of Major General Wagenheim, who was charged with the dispositions to be made for the passage of the river, and with orders to advance himself to the gates of Dusseldorp, and to cause the corps under the command of Colonel Scheiter to pass the Rhine at Duyfburg. Which passage was executed in the night between the 29th and 30th, with such success, that Scheiter having attacked, with bayonets fixed, the three battalions of French that opposed him, defeated them; and took five pieces of cannon, out of eight which they had. He had but two men wounded in the passage, and not one either killed or wounded during the action.

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Prince
Ferdinand
triumphs
over the
French.

The army marched before sun-rise on the 20th from Dulmen towards Dorsten, and encamped at Limbeke; from whence, the next day, Lieutenant General Wutgenau was detached towards Wesel, with a body of infantry and cavalry. The 30th he encamped at Raesveld, and the 31st at Ringenbourg. The Prince left the army during its march from Dulmen to Limbeke, and went to Boecktholt,

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1758.

Crosses the
Rhine.

Boecktholt, where he found the advance guards of the body assembled at Coesveld. That advanced guard marched on the 30th to Emmerick; and was followed by the rest of the corps, which was employed at Vraffelt. About five o'clock in the afternoon of the 31st, the whole was in motion to cross the Rhine; the advanced guard went on as far as Lobit. The Prince's design was to pass the river in the night; but an unforeseen accident broke all the measures, which had been taken for that purpose; and His Serene Highness was obliged to march the troops back again in the night to Neddlerelte. The 1st of June was employed in removing the obstacles that had occurred; and, in the following night, the passage was again attempted, and executed with all possible success, near Herven.

Marches
towards
Cleves.

The hussars, with a detachment of grenadiers, passed, on the 2d of June, at two o'clock in the morning, in flat bottomed boats, which went and returned with so much diligence, that, besides the hussars, a regiment of dragoons, and ten or twelve battalions, were, before noon, on the other side of the river. During all this time, workmen were employed about the bridge, which however was not completed till four next morning. The remainder of the cavalry and infantry passed immediately, and marched towards Cleves.

The hussars, supported by the volunteers, surprized at first some patroles, which were made prisoners of war, and still continuing to advance, defeated the cavalry that shewed themselves, and took

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took a pair of kettle drums and a standard from the regiment of Bellefond. This country is entirely divided by dykes, so that it is as easy to dispute the ground, as it is difficult to advance. The enemy, sensible of this advantage, advanced with seven or 800 foot to stop the head of our vanguard, and fired some pieces of cannon upon them, which however hurt nobody. But a detachment of 20 men, having found means to slip along a dyke, and get possession of a house, which the French had, in part, passed, fired upon them; which had such an effect, that they retired immediately. The hussars with the like success penetrated and cleared the road quite up to Cleves; with no other damage, than five rank and file and two officers wounded. What confounded the enemy most was the loss of Keiserworth, (with the greatest part of the garrison killed or taken) which they had engaged with the Elector of Cologne, to defend against any force.

The retreat of the French, on this occasion, was again so precipitate, that in order to escape the hussars, they skulked for many miles in the inclosed grounds, and made a way over hedges and ditches to escape their pursuers. But Prince George of Holstein Gottorp, with a large body of cavalry and dragoons, came up with them near the castle of Muyland, and made a considerable booty and a good number of prisoners; and at Goch he seized a magazine, and 100 prisoners more.

Yet there was no probability of forcing the strong camp and entrenchments of the Prince of Clermont Pursues the French.
Endeavours to bring on a general engagement.

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1758.

How
effected.

mont at Rhinefeldt, with an army so inferior in numbers. But what could not be done by strength was to be supplied by the generalship of His Serene Highness; who, by his well-judged motions, which he ordered his army to make on the 12th of June, turned the left wing of the French army towards the convent of Campe, and obliged their commander to quit his boasted camp of Rhinefeldt, or Rhineberg, and to retire towards Meurs, in the night between the 12th and 13th. This point gained by Prince Ferdinand, his Highness gave a new position to his own army, and occupied the heights of St. Anthony's mountains on the 14th. On the 15th, about five o'clock in the morning, His Serene Highness was informed, that the enemy was advancing in four columns upon his right. His Highness immediately ordered three guns to be fired as a signal, and the whole army was under arms, in order of battle, a quarter of an hour after. He went afterwards himself to reconnoitre, and saw distinctly, that, at about two leagues distance from his right flank, a considerable body was coming over the plain of Hulste, and marching towards Crevelt. Not knowing whether this body was followed by the whole army, or whether it was only a detachment of it that was marching that way, His Serene Highness halted till towards the evening, when he received certain information, that the French army had marched towards Nuys, and that the Prince de Clermont had only detached this corps, under the command of Lieutenant General

neral Count de St. Germain, in order to take post at Crevelt. A. D. 1758.

Upon this information his Highness sent his light troops and hussars to Kempen and Wachten-donck, and ordered the army into their camp again.

On the 16th he changed the position of the army.

On the 17th his Highness went himself to reconnoitre, towards Kempen, the position of the enemy's detachment at Crevelt, but could not guess at their reason for fixing this detachment at such a distance from their army. In order, therefore, to be better informed of it, and to see the countenance this corps could hold, he ordered the Prince of Holstein, with ten Prussian squadrons, the five squadrons of hussars, and the three battalions of Sporcken guards, and Prince Charles, to march early in the morning of the 18th towards Kempen, whilst the Prince of Holstein should advance with his corps towards Hulste: whereby it would clearly appear, whether M. de St. Germain would retreat towards the army, or whether the army of Prince de Clermont would advance towards Crevelt, in order to encamp there. Agreeable to this plan, his Highness the hereditary Prince of Brunswick set forward on the 19th from the camp, with 12 battalions. He marched directly towards Kempen, from whence he could perceive no alteration in the position of Count de St. Germain.

At six o'clock in the morning, his Serene Highness Prince Ferdinand in person followed the he-

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editary Prince to Kempen. He perceived some movements in the flying camp, which were of a nature to induce him to believe, that M. de St. Germain designed to march against the Prince of Holstein, who was encamped near Hulste. Soon after he was positively informed, that the whole of the French army had quitted Nuys, and were advanced on this side Crevelt; on which, having taken his measures, and formed a plan, as the case required, Major General Wangenheim was ordered to advance early the next day, with his corps towards Hulste, and Lieutenant General Sporcken was directed to march after midnight, with the army, and to advance likewise to the plain between Hulste and Kempen. On the 20th of June all the troops his Serene Highness could dispose of, were, by this means, reunited in this camp, the right of which extended towards Kempen, and the left towards Hulste. The head quarters were fixed at Kempen, and, in order to prevent any useless movements, his Highness ordered the quarter master general not to regard the rank of the different corps, nor the order of battle, but to place the regiments, as a great part of them were actually posted.

On the 21st was observed a great movement in the advanced corps of Count St. Germain, and about ten in the morning, after decamping, they filed off to their left, and marched towards Anrath, where they joined their grand army.

In making this motion they abandoned the town of Crevelt, which was on the front of their right wing;

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wing; the Hanoverian chasseurs possessed themselves of it directly, and his Highness also went himself there to reconnoitre the position of their camp, which was clearly discovered from the steeple at Crevelt. He did not think fit either to keep the said post, or to make any change in the position of his army; in consequence of which, he ordered the chasseurs and hussars away from that place, and the enemy repossessed themselves of it an hour afterwards.

On the 22d his Highness went again to reconnoitre the camp of the enemy, particularly on the side of St. Anthony, on the heath, which led towards their left. And although he found many difficulties, principally on account of the country's being very woody, and having inclosures surrounded with large and deep ditches, he resolved to march the next day to the enemy, and attack them in their camp.

In consequence of this resolution, the army was ordered to be under arms on June 23, at one in the morning, and not to change any thing in the camp, but to leave all their baggage in it, and wait there for further orders.

He assigned the command of the whole left wing, consisting of 18 battalions and 28 squadrons, to Lieutenant General Sporcken, and gave the command of the right wing, composed of 16 battalions and 14 squadrons, to the hereditary Prince and Major General Wangenheim; which, by the addition of the two regiments of Prussian dragoons, Holstein and Finckenstein, of five

Order of
battle.

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squadrons each, made a corps of 24 squadrons, to be commanded by the Prince of Holstein, as the infantry was by the hereditary Prince.

At four in the morning, the army began to move, the right advanced in two columns as far as St. Anthony, and the left the same distance, on the plain leading to Crevelt, half a league short of it, where they halted to receive fresh orders. His Highness Prince Ferdinand went up the steeple of St. Anthony, and sent for the two Princes of Holstein and Brunswick. There they observed at leisure the position of the enemy's camp, where all was very quiet. He also sent for several persons thither, who were acquainted with the country, to learn from them by what routs we could advance by, towards the enemy; and being informed of many other points, absolutely necessary to be known, his Highness resolved to march to the right, and endeavour to come up with the enemy by the villages of Vorst and Anrath, on the flank of their left wing. But, in order to raise doubts in the enemy, as to the side, on which the real and principal attack would be made, he gave orders for Lieutenant General Sporcken to send Lieutenant General Oberg, with six battalions of the second line, Hodenberg's and Bremer's regiments of horse, and that of the body guards, towards St. Anthony, and to give them six 12 pounders. Besides this, his Highness gave orders, that when the action should begin on the enemy's left, M. de Sporcken, by way of Crevelt, and M. d'Oberg, by way of St. Anthony, should do their utmost
to

to advance and penetrate into the enemy's army; but however not to venture too far, unless they should be assured that his attack succeeded to his wish. His Highness chiefly recommended it to them, to make good use of their heavy artillery, in order to oblige the enemy to employ their attention as much upon their right wing and center, as on their left, and to engage and divide their attention equally in three different places, which would prevent them from sending any reinforcement to the real attack, for fear of weakening themselves in some part or other, where an impression might be made.

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His High-
ness's par-
ticular di-
rections
about the
artillery.

The dispositions being made, his Highness put himself at the head of the grenadiers of the right wing, at eight in the morning, and taking the road that leads to the village of Vorst, which he left on his right, the army advanced in two columns towards Anrath, where there was a detachment of 400 of the enemy, half horse and half foot, who, after some discharges of musketry on each side, fell back towards their camp, which was not above half a mile distant from them, and there gave the alarm. His Highness then caused the troops to advance, and double their speed to get out of the defiles; he ranged them in order of battle in the plain, between the villages of Anrath and Willich, and marched directly towards the wood, which covered their left. Before Prince Ferdinand gave the order for attacking, he lifted up his eyes to heaven for near a minute, and then drawing his sword, said, "Brethren, we

Advanceth
in two co-
lumns.

Attacks a
party of
the enemy.

Forms the
line of bat-
tle.

A. D. 1758. “ have a good cause, put your trust in Providence,

His speech
to the sol-
diers.

“ you see God is with us, the wind is changed,
“ and it is now on our side.”

Engages
the enemy,

At one o'clock at noon, the enemy began to act. The Duke caused his artillery forthwith to advance, which, being greatly superior to that of the enemy, facilitated the means of his infantry's forming themselves over against the wood, and of his cavalry's extending upon his right towards the village of Willich, making a shew as if they designed to turn the enemy's left flank, to take them in the rear. After a cannonade as violent as it was well supported, his Highness saw plainly, that he must come to the point of endeavouring to force the enemy out of the wood by small arms; wherefore the hereditary Prince put himself at the head of the first line, that is to say, of two battalions of the grenadiers of Schulenbourg and Schack, of the regiments of Block, Sporcken, Hardenberg, Wangenheim, Post and Dreves; and advanced, with the whole front, directly towards the wood. The fire then became there extremely hot on each side, and neither discontinued, nor, in any degree diminished, for two hours and an half. In the mean while all the other battalions entered, likewise, the wood; so that there remained but eight squadrons, which formed a corps of reserve, upon the plain, ready to be employed where circumstances should require.

The other 16 squadrons, which were upon our right, never could penetrate on the other side of the wood, on account of two batteries, which
the

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the enemy had placed there, and which were sustained by above 40 squadrons. In short, about five o'clock in the afternoon, the hereditary Prince, assisted by the Major Generals Kilmansegge and Wangenheim, gave orders for an attack to be made, by the grenadiers, upon the two ditches that were in the wood, and that were lined with the enemy's infantry: and they were forced one after the other. The other regiments of infantry did the same all along their front. By which means part of the enemy's infantry was entirely thrown into confusion, and retired out of the wood in the utmost disorder, without ever being able to rally. The Hanoverian foot followed them, but without venturing to pursue them, on account of the enemy's cavalry, which, notwithstanding the terrible fire of our artillery, not only kept the best countenance possible, but even covered their infantry that was flying, in such a manner as to protect them from our cavalry, that, between five and six in the evening, had found means to gain the plain. The Hessian dragoons, and the regiment of cavalry of the same nation, had two shocks with the royal carabineers of Provence, and the regiment of Rouffillon, and broke them. This was all that the cavalry had to do in this day. A squadron of the carabineers attempted to penetrate through our infantry, and attacked the battalions of Post and Dreves, but with a considerable loss; and though about 40 of them did indeed force their way, they were never able to

Enemy
driven out
of the
wood.

A. D. 1758. rejoin their corps, and were all killed either by shot or bayonet.

The flight
of the ene-
my.

The enemy then did not think proper, or find themselves in a condition, to dispute the ground any longer; but retired towards Vischell, and from thence took the road, that leads towards Nuys. In the flight they lost a great number of men and horses.

During this whole affair, the fire of the artillery of the Generals Sporcken and Oberg had done great execution; but as the distance, they were at, made them uncertain, as to the turn affairs had taken on the Prince's side, they never ventured to attack the enemy's front, opposite to them, so that the enemy's right wing and center retired, in the greatest order, towards Nuys, leaving the allies masters of the field of battle, after a loss on their side, of between seven and 8,000 men killed, wounded, and taken prisoners.

Loss,

Such was the end of this action, which cost our army 10 officers, 17 subalterns, 269 common men, and 997 horses killed: 15 officers, 38 subalterns, 701 common men, and 55 horses dangerously wounded: 19 officers, 38 subalterns, 372 common men, and five horses slightly wounded: 33 soldiers and 27 horses missing. So that the whole killed, wounded and missing, amounts to 44 officers, 93 subalterns, 1375 common men, and 184 horses. On the side of the French, the chevalier de Muy, Lieutenant General, received three wounds, one on the head and two in the arm; the Count de Gisors was mortally wounded;

as

as was also the Count de Maille, colonel of the regiment of Conde. The Duke de Montmorenci, colonel of the regiment of Touraine, was also dangerously wounded, as was likewise the Count de Lauraguais, colonel of that of Rouffillon. Colonel Lochman had his arm broke. Lieutenant-colonel Escher, with four captains and seventeen other officers of the same regiment were likewise wounded. Six or eight regiments were entirely ruined.

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There were found on the field of battle two uniforms with the ensigns of the order of the Holy Ghost, nine pieces of cannon, eight four pounders, seven standards, two pair of kettle-drums, and twenty-two officers of distinction were taken in the pursuit. When Prince Ferdinand went the next day to view the field of battle, and the principal officers made him their compliments upon the victory, he said, with tears in his eyes, Prince Ferdinand's humility.
 “Gentlemen, I beseech you say nothing more of
 “that kind; look upon those bloody carcases, that
 “deform the field: this is the tenth that in the
 “course of my life I have seen, and I sincerely
 “pray God it may be the last.”

The light troops were sent to harass the enemy's retreat; and at nine in the evening all our three different corps joined each other in the field, from whence the enemy had been driven, and remained there all night under arms.

It was said that the French were 65,000 strong, Strength of both armies. and the British army not more than 30,000; that the French were forced against their will to fight; and

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1758.and that they ran away, lost their tents, baggage, and cannon^e.

Prince

^e The following is Count de Clermont's relation of the battle on the 23d of June at Crevelt.

“ On the 22d his Serene Highness the Count de Clermont having received advice that the enemy, who were encamped from Kempen to Hulst, were preparing to come and attack him, he made the proper dispositions for their reception. On the 23d, at ten in the morning, his Serene Highness was informed that several columns of the enemy were in sight, marching up to his camp. He immediately put his whole army under arms. The right extended to the wood at Vische-lon, from whence it lined the Landverth as far as the farm of Hokelxmey. A little further, in the same line, towards An-rath (in which was the royal legion) he posted four battalions. He also placed opposite to the farm of Hermefdeck, a re-serve consisting of carabineers and dragoons. On the right was another service, composed of the grenadiers of France, and the royal grenadiers, and the brigade of Navarre. Behind the foot, in the center, were two lines of horse. Crevelt was occupied by a detachment of 800 foot, horse, and hussars.

“ Such were our dispositions, when the enemy presented themselves, approaching insensibly to Crevelt on the right, to Anrath on the left, and to the farm of Hokelxmey in the center. His Serene Highness, after some skirmishing, made the detachment at Crevelt, which was posted there only to watch the motions of the enemy, fall back upon the line. He also made the royal legion join the left wing.

“ About noon the enemy made their dispositions for attacking us in three different parts. They fell on Anrath first, which could not be defended, because it was too far distant from the left of our line. From thence the enemy advanced to the plain between the Niers and a small wood that runs parallel to that river. His Serene Highness had lined this wood with 15 battalions, composed of the brigades de la Marine, de Touraine, and the detached regiments of Brancas and Lochman,

Prince Ferdinand resolved now to lay siege to Duffeldorp, a city that belonged to the Prince Palatine ;

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The siege
of Duffel-
dorp.

Lochman, and 30 squadrons, in order to oppose the enemy, if they should attempt to advance that way.

“ The enemy began their three attacks at one time. His Serene Highness soon perceived that their real attack was that in the wood on the left. He sent for the reserve, which consisted of the grenadiers of France, the royal grenadiers, and the brigade of Navarre. But by an inconceivable fatality, the officers, whom his Serene Highness ordered to bring up these brigades, missed them, and this reserve did not come up soon enough. The 15 battalions, after sustaining a fire of three hours, and repulsing the enemy three times, were at last obliged to fall back, after suffering great loss, and causing the enemy to suffer a greater, who finding the fire of our infantry slacken, drew up in the plain. His Serene Highness ordered the carabineers and the two battalions of horse of Royal Roussillon and Aquitaine to charge them. The enemy were driven back to the wood. But as they had their principal force in that part, and could bring up fresh troops every minute, they again poured into the plain in greater numbers; and it was no longer possible for the cavalry to attack them with advantage.

“ As the reserve which his Serene Highness sent for, did not come up, he gave orders for a retreat, which was made in the greatest order, the enemy not daring to follow us, and our army arrived at Neufs without being annoyed in the least on its march. We brought off our wounded. His Serene Highness judging his position at Neufs to be improper, either for waiting for the enemy, or for marching to them, is come, after halting there one day, to encamp at Woringhen.”

The people at Paris received the news of this defeat with the utmost concern: a letter written on that occasion will serve, in some measure, to shew their despondency, “ We know not, says the writer, precisely the amount of our loss; but it is certain the enemy gained the field of battle.—Mean while, till we are informed of the particulars of this fatal day, and
of

A. D.
1758.Bombard-
ed.

Palatine; but lent to the French for a place of arms and magazines; garrisoned with 2,000 men. In this measure his Serene Highness had two views; either to destroy their magazines in this town and make the garrison prisoners; or to force the army to rescue its complete ruin, in their relief. Accordingly on the 28th he appeared before Duffeldorp, and summoned it to surrender: four batteries were erected, and plyed the town very briskly with bombs and bullets; so that in the space of five days they beat down and reduced 80 houses to ashes, and damaged many more, amongst which were the Elector's palace, several churches and other public and stately buildings: under whose heaps of rubbish many persons perished. On the 3d of

of the true causes of this new disgrace to our arms, whilst we deplore the loss of so many gallant men, we cannot help attributing it to the levity and passion for pleasure that prevails at present; and which are attended with dissipation, incapacity, and continual craving. Instead of studying their duty, and qualifying themselves to discharge it; instead of attending the welfare and interest of their country, and strictly following the King's intentions and commands, we see, to the disgrace of the nation, that most of the leading men in our army have minded only the enriching themselves by the desolation and ruin of the enemy's country; and whilst they authorize by their example, and for their own private gain, corruption and frauds in the commissaries, they have destroyed an army, which, under a Marshal Saxe, would have given law to all Germany. Hence we see the Bastille fill: three officers of high rank are just now sent thither, and no less than twelve were lodged in it before. These acts of just severity will, we hope, bring back the ancient spirit of honour, discipline, and œconomy, by which our generals and officers were distinguished in former times."

July Prince Ferdinand being applied to by the principal burgers, for leave for the towns people to withdraw with their effects, a suspension of arms was granted for a certain time : during which, the governor, having no expectations of relief, capitulated for the garrison to march out with the honours of war: but an immense quantity of stores, ammunition, provision, and a numerous and fine train of French artillery, were delivered up with the city.

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Capitu-
lates.

The battle of Crevelt and the loss of Duffeldorp, finished the command of the Prince of Clermont, for he was superseded by M. de Contades, who was charged with the command of the French forces on the Rhine, till the arrival of M. de Estrees, restored. But all this adverse fortune did not divert the attention of the French ministry from their original plan of operations against those countries, from which their grand army had been so lately driven, with such disgrace. Prince Soubize was ordered to march with the army under his command, and to penetrate into the Landgravate of Hesse. But he was not able to execute these orders with the success his court expected. For, as his vanguard attempted to take post at Otterheim, between Jieffen and Marburg, the Hessian militia came suddenly upon them, and killed or took them prisoners, though they were a select corps drawn out of two regiments and Fischer's troops. Had this defeat been properly improved by the regular troops then assembling under

Prince of
Clermont
gives up
the com-
mand to
M. Con-
tades.

Prince
Soubize
marches
for Hesse.

His van
defeated by
the militia.

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Motives
for Sou-
bize's
march.

under Prince Ysenberg, Hesse would have had nothing more to fear from a French invasion.

Motives
for Prince
Ferdi-
nand's
conduct on
this occa-
sion.

This march of the Prince of Soubize was intended to drive Prince Ferdinand back from the Rhine, or at least to divide his forces for the defence of the countries of the British allies. But his Serene Highness had formed a counter plan, either to cut off Soubize's army in Hesse, or to oblige him to come to the assistance of M. de Contades. For this purpose Prince Ysenberg had orders to oppose the progress of the French on that side, with every art, without risking a battle, till the last push, and in the most advantageous situation. By this means his Serene Highness hoped to gain time, till he should be strengthened with the British troops, consisting of 2068 men, and 3000 horses, which had embarked, and were daily expected in his army, by the way of Embden. In the mean time his Serene Highness marched to Ruremond on the Maese, with a design to transfer the seat of war into the enemy's country; which, seconded by the naval operations on several parts of the coast of France, was expected to oblige Soubize's army and all their forces to hasten back from Germany, to defend their own country^f. How this excellent plan failed will be seen in the course of this history.

^f A plan that seems to have been concerted with the British ministry, and by them formed upon the most obvious and most apparent circumstances to promise success, when our army was flushed with victory, and had passed the Rhine, and the French in no condition to stop their progress, without manifestly weakening every part of their German plan of operations.

As soon as our ministry received advice of the victory gained by Prince Ferdinand at Crevelt, and of the surrender of Duffeldorp to his arms, he was ordered to maintain his station, with promise of an immediate reinforcement of British troops, which he had long solicited; and with them to penetrate into the enemy's country, as soon as he should have notice of the execution of a secret expedition, then under consideration to favour his operations.

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1758.

British
troops or-
dered for
Germany.

The troops, in number 2068 men and 3000 Embarked. horses, were shipped off for Germany, and arrived at Embden on the 20th day of July^s, under the command of the Duke of Marlborough and Lord George Sackville, who preferred this service on the continent, (as more agreeable to their own sentiments in favour of a continental war) to any connections with naval operations on the coast of France: And this dislike to expeditions against the coast of France diffused itself so fashionably amongst the friends of continental measures and the military officers, that the government was at last driven to such an alternative, that they must

s The Generals and regiments of horse and foot, sent to Germany, to join the army on the Rhine, under the command of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick.

Generals. Duke of Marlborough, Lord George Sackville, Marquis of Granby, General Waldegrave, General Sir John Whiteford, Major General Kingsley.

Horse. Blue's, Bland's, Howard's, Scots Grays, General Cholmondeley's, Sir John Mordaunt's.

Foot. Napier's, Kinsley's, Huske's, Hume's, Stuart's, Brudenell's, from Embden, replaced by 400 invalids.

either

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General
Bligh, why
appointed
to the
command
against
Cher-
bourg.

A descent
resolved on
by the mi-
nister.

Why?

The com-
manders
by sea and
land.

either accept of a general, that had scarce ever been remembered amongst the rewards of merit, who was now sent for from Ireland, upon a quite different command and service, and almost worn out in the service of his country, and with age; or give up the thoughts of a littoral war upon France.

The minister, reduced to this dilemma, was too well convinced of the expediency and necessity of this kind of attack upon our enemy, either to be discouraged by the bad countenance, with which the last expedition had been conducted in the enemy's country; or to be compelled, by the resolution of the military gentlemen, not to resume the plan of another descent upon the same coast. A miscarriage under the present circumstances would be more advantageous to the national interest, than no attempt. A descent must be made to cause a diversion in favour of our allies; to engage the enemy to employ in their own defence, a considerable part of their forces; and to disturb and shake the credit of their public loans: a Bligh, or a ———, with the character of an honest and brave foldier, trained up in the art of war, and in the service of his country, was as capable of this command, as any of those great names, that had rejected the offer. Time was precious: the service was necessary: the minister did not hesitate a moment. Lieutenant General Bligh, who had been sent for from Ireland to command the troops going to Germany, was greatly surprized on his arrival at London, that his destination was changed for the command of this expedition,

tion, which had been refused by those concerned in the former: however he was appointed to the command by land. Who thought it his duty to accept thereof; and got ready, in three days after, to carry his instructions^h into execution, though

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^h *Secret Instructions for our trusty and well beloved Thomas Bligh, Esq; Lieutenant General of our forces, whom we have appointed General and Commander in Chief of all and singular our troops and land forces, appointed or to be appointed, for a secret expedition for our service; or for such other officer, on whom the command in chief of our said troops and land forces may devolve. Given at our court at Kensington the 18th day of July, 1758, in the thirty-second year of our reign.*

Having by our commission, bearing date the 13th day of this instant, appointed you to be General and Commander in Chief of all and singular our forces appointed, or to be appointed for a secret expedition; for your better discharge of the great and important trust thereby reposed in you, we have judged it proper to give you the following instructions.

I. You shall, immediately upon the receipt of these our instructions, repair to the Isle of Wight, where we have appointed ships to convey you, and the forces under your command, to the coast of France; and so soon as the said forces shall be embarked, you shall accordingly proceed without loss of time, under convoy of such of our ships of war as shall be judged proper for that purpose. And our trusty and well-beloved Richard Howe, Esq; whom we have appointed Commander in Chief of our said ships, is instructed to co-operate with you, and to be aiding and assisting in all such enterprizes, as, by these our instructions, you shall be directed to undertake, for our service.

II. Whereas we have determined, with the blessing of God, to prosecute the just war, in which we are engaged against the French King, with the utmost vigour; and it being highly expedient, and of the greatest utility, to continue some expedi-

A. D. 1758. though he foresaw the uncertainty of the event; for the people at Cherburg, the only place fixed upon in

tion, that may cause a diversion, and engage the enemy to employ, in their own defence, a considerable part of their forces, destined to invade and oppress the liberties of the Empire, and to subvert the independency of Europe; and, if possible, to make some effectual impression on the enemy, which, by disturbing and shaking the credit of their public loans, and at the same time securing and protecting the commerce of our own subjects, by striking at the principal seats of their privateers, as well as by disconcerting, and in part frustrating, their dangerous and extensive operations of war, may reflect lustre on our arms, and add life and strength to the common cause: our will and pleasure is, that you do exert your utmost endeavours to land, if it shall be found practicable, with the troops under your command, at or near Cherburg, on the coast of Normandy, and to attack the batteries, forts and town of Cherburg; and in case, by the blessing of God upon our arms, the said place shall be carried, and that our troops shall be able to maintain themselves there, a competent time, for demolishing and destroying the port and basin, together with all the ships, naval stores and works, batteries, fortifications, arsenals, and magazines, thereunto belonging, you are to use all possible means, effectually to demolish and destroy the same; and you are also to exert such other efforts, as you shall judge most proper, to annoy and distress the enemy.— When this service shall be completed, or in case the attack abovementioned on Cherburg shall not succeed, our will and pleasure is, that you do proceed to carry a warm alarm along the coast of France, and to make descents upon any part, or parts thereof; and attack any place, that may be found practicable, from the easternmost point of Normandy, as far westward as Morlaix, inclusive; and you are to carry into execution all, or any of the above operations, in such order of time, as from the circumstances of the wind and weather, shall be most adviseable, and most conducive to our service; and

in his instructions, having been already alarmed, were prepared to receive him : besides the number of

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and whereas the diversion hereby proposed to be made, is of the highest importance to the good of the common cause, our will and pleasure is, that you do continue with as much vigour, and give as much duration to the various operations of the present expedition, as shall be found practicable, and consistent with the good of our service, as well from the strength and tenable nature of any place or post, whereof you may become master, as from the force, which the enemy shall collect in those parts, to oppose you, and from the circumstances and situation of our troops and ships ; during which time, you are to exert all such efforts for annoying the enemy, as you shall judge proper ; and you are in all cases, to preserve, with the utmost attention and circumspection, the communication with our ships.

III. Whereas the success of this expedition will very much depend upon an intire good understanding between our land and sea officers ; we do hereby strictly enjoin and require you, on your part , to maintain and cultivate such a good understanding and agreement ; and to order, that the soldiers under your command, should man the ships, when there shall be occasion for them, and when they can be spared from the land service ; as the Commander in Chief of our squadron is instructed on his part, to entertain and cultivate the same good understanding and agreement, and to order the sailors and marines, under his command, to assist our land forces, and to man the batteries, when there shall be occasion for them, and when they can be spared from the sea service ; and in order to establish the strictest union that may be, between you, and the Commander in Chief of our ships, you are hereby required to communicate these instructions to him, and he will be directed to communicate those, he shall receive, to you.

IV. You shall, from time to time, and as you shall have opportunity, send constant accounts of your proceedings, in the execution of these our instructions, to one of our principal

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of troops had been diminished about one third part by sickness; and three of the best battalions were sent to Germany, from the forces employed at St. Maloes. The command by sea was given to Richard Howe, Esq; now Lord Howe; whose behaviour on former expeditions, and alacrity in this service, had in a particular manner recommended him to the favour of his sovereign: and in order to wipe off some of that disgust, which might have diffused itself, from the aversion propagated by the late commanders, amongst the army, his Royal Highness Prince Edward, now Duke of York, attended with many volunteers of noble extraction, and gentlemen of merit and fortune, was pleased to countenance this expedition with his presence.

Cherburg
described.

Cherburg, the first and chief object destined for destruction by this armament, is a city and sea port, which, both by its situation and improvement in strength and commodiousness for great ships, promised in time to become the greatest scourge of the British coast, and the terror of our navigation in the channel. The town is situated in a plain, within the district of La Hogue,

secretaries of state; from whom you will receive such further orders and instructions as we may think proper to give you,

V. In case the circumstances of our troops under your command, or any urgent necessity, should require leaving the coasts of France, before you can receive our orders for that purpose; you are, in case of such necessity, to return to England, and land the troops at such of our ports, as shall be most convenient.



Benard sculp.

His Royal Highness E D W A R D Duke of York.

[illegible]

on the north side of Lower Normandy, and in that part of the province known by the name of the Peninsula Cotentin, at the bottom of a large bay, formed like a crescent, by the Capes Barfleur and La Hogue. On the north it is bounded by the sea: on the east by a large plain, about three miles long: On the west by another plain, about a mile and half in length; and on the south by an agreeable prospect of fruitful ground, and the hill of Roule, on whose summit is the great forest of Brix and Turlaville; about 70 miles from Portsmouth.

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It was always looked upon as a place of some consequence, both for defence, and for annoying the British coast: for which purpose it had been well fortified. But in 1687, Lewis XIV. with the advice of Marshal Vauban, gave orders to have it fortified in the modern way, and to add a capacious basin to the harbour, for the reception of a large fleet of men of war. In consequence of this resolution the new works were immediately begun, and the wall was carried a great height in the year 1688. But in the following year both the old and new fortifications were demolished; nothing remaining but two towers, part of the old fortifications; one of which was converted into a magazine of gunpowder.

A place
of consequence.

The town contains about 6000 inhabitants. Out of which is formed a militia, consisting of four companies, commanded by a major, an aid-major, four captains, four lieutenants, and four ensigns or second lieutenants: and a party of this

Inhabitants, &c.

Strength.

A D. militia, draughted out of each company, mounts
1758. guard daily.

Here are five forts upon the bay; the Turlaville redoubt, the Longlet, the Galette, the Equerdreville and the Cherseville. In time of war a fourth part, and some times one half, or more, of the citizens are obliged to keep constant guard in the Galette, the most considerable fort; because the ships shelter themselves under this fort, till they get water enough to carry them into the harbour. The Turlaville is situated S. E. of the town, the other forts towards the W. and N. W.

Harbour.

The harbour lies on the E. and S. sides of the town, and the entrance to it is S. and N. The tide here is 13 or 14 feet, at high water: at low water there remains no more than the water of the river: and it is secured from the violence of the N. E. winds by the island of Pelee, which lies at the mouth of the harbour to the N. E. in extent 400 fathoms from N. W. to S. E. and 300 from E. N. E. to W. S. W. Within was the bason, which with the piers, had cost the crown of France upwards of one million sterling.

Expedition
fleet sails.

Against this place Commodore Howe, with his fleet and transports, Lieutenant-General Bligh, and his troops on board, set sail from St. Helen's on the first day of August. They arrived in Cherbourg road at seven in the evening, on the sixth of the same month: and in an hour's time the bombs began to play upon the town. At seven next morning the fleet got under way, and at nine came

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came to an anchor in the bay of Marais, two leagues west of Cherburg, where about 3000 of the enemy, horse and foot, appeared behind the sand-banks, as if they intended to dispute the landing of our troops. But the dispositions being made for a descent, the grenadiers and guards landed in flat-bottomed boats, about two in the afternoon, under the covert of a smart fire from the frigates, bombsⁱ, floops and armed cutters. His Majesty's troops, having made the shore, Land, formed a stand with all the chearfulness imaginable, under the command of General Drury, who marched them up to the post of the enemy, and received three fires before he began the attack; which was executed with such spirit and vigour, that the French quitted their post, and were pursued with great slaughter, especially amongst the horse, skulking in hedges and ditches; with the loss of only twenty men killed and wounded on our side. Here also were taken two pieces of Brass cannon, drawn down to this beach to oppose our troops in their landing. It was not till next morning that the horse and artillery landed: which was effected without molestation. The army immediately formed, and at noon marched forward in two columns to Cherburg; and as they approached the garrison abandoned the place: so that our army entered and took possession thereof without opposition, there being no fortifications to defend it, next the country. Surrenders.

ⁱ Which were charged with a great quantity of balls, and did great execution amongst the French cavalry.

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A promise
of good
discipline.

A manifesto was published, which contained promises of good discipline and protection to those, who made no resistance. This quieted the apprehensions of the inhabitants, and kept them from deserting their habitations; and contributed much to that civility, with which they received their English guests; and almost exceeded the caresses of the best friends.

Remarks
on the con-
duct of
the com-
mander.

But neither the march from the landing-place, nor the behaviour of our army under those fair promises, have escaped censure. As the enemy hovered about, and their numbers were not sufficiently known, it was thought a little inconsistent with that maxim in war, never to occupy any ground, but where you can exert your whole force to the best advantage, for the commander in chief to encamp and hamper his troops in such a confined situation, that the ground on which they laid all night did not exceed 400 paces: So that had the enemy attacked them in the front, or on the left, they would have been obliged to fight with infinite disadvantage; the tents being pitched in a crowded and irregular manner. It was owing to the same inattention that the inhabitants had cause to complain of the outrages committed by our soldiers. It was not sufficient to prevent disorders by a mere prohibition or command. It was necessary also to encamp regularly with the bulk of the army, in order to have the soldiers superintended. For the want of this precaution, discipline grew relax, the soldiers lived at large, and indulged themselves like brutes in

in riot, licentiousness and plunder. A breach of faith very unbecoming the English^k; and which had well nigh proved very fatal to themselves; for had it not been through the strict discipline with which the foot-guards set a laudable example of sobriety, the whole army were in danger of being cut off, in that dissolute scene of drunkenness, that ensued a discovery of the wine magazines: though there was a body of the enemy's troops, superior to them, under a marshal of France, and within a few hours march.

General Bligh being now in possession both of the city of Cherburg, and of the forts of Querqueville, Homet and Galer, proceeded, according to his instructions, to destroy the bason^l and the Bason, &c. destroyed, and artillery, &c. taken.

^k See the note on p. 85. Vol. III.

^l The masonry of the bason and jettys was so strong, that the miners found it extremely difficult to enter it with their tools. But what was the most curious of all, was the sluice. It was constructed by the famous M. de Caux, chief engineer to the present French King, and was about forty French feet broad, and 162 long, erected upon a bottom of hard sand, two or three feet deep, under which was a bed of marle, and, seven or eight feet deeper, a bank of solid rock, of unknown thickness. To lay the foundation, so as not to be incommoded by the sea, the whole space was first of all encompassed by a dam, five feet thick, coated with free-stone, and lined with clay, the whole laid upon a bed of heath-broom, especially towards the sea, to prevent the sand from washing away. On the side of the port, there was a small sluice, made by way of precaution, to let out the water, to be raised by machines, when the tide was out; lastly, to the depth of sixteen feet, was made an excavation, sufficiently wide for the workmen to turn with ease every way about the

A. D. 1758. the two piers at the entrance of the harbour; also to ruin the harbour itself, that it might be rendered

the foundation. It was not without many obstructions that the depth was gained, for innumerable springs broke in upon the works, so that twelve chain-pumps were constantly employed, and those scarce sufficient to clear away the water, though they delivered at least 180 cubic toises per hour. When the dam was surrounded by the full tide, they were forced to have recourse to five other pumps, or mills, with vertical chaplets sixteen feet high, and six or seven feet diameter.

The excavation was begun by portions of about three fathom wide, and, when they came to a sufficient depth, piles were driven down, on which to fix the vertical mills. As the column of water to be raised was fourteen or fifteen feet high, winches were applied of a proportionable strength. Thus the whole extent of the sluice was drained and hollowed out in about six months, but the erecting the masonry, &c. took up some years.

The massy parts of the masonry, of about four feet square each, were strengthened and more firmly connected by iron cramps, fixed in with melted lead. Particular care was taken to chuse the hardest of free stone, scarce any less than three feet, or three feet and a half cube, and the ordinary cement was made in the following manner:

Equal parts of the hardest tile shards, fragments of free-stone, and scorixæ from iron founderies, were powdered and sifted, and, when cleared and dried, were mixed together, and a kind of bason formed, in which they flacked about half the quantity of quick lime, and let it lie some hours; after which they mixed all well together, and placed it on a stone or wooden platform, to be beaten once a day with batts edged with iron, till the cement was reduced to a soft paste.

For filling up the joints of the free-stone-facings of the sluice, they used a cement made of equal parts of test-powder or pieces of crucibles, sandever, and smith's forge scales, all reduced to powder, to which about half the quantity of flaked lime

rendered incapable of receiving and covering any of the King's ships of war; and to demolish all the batteries, forts, magazines and stores at that place and along the coast. There were seven and twenty

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lime was added. This composition was mixed with the same precautions as the former, and a quantity of the large red snails without shells were beat up into a paste with the powder.

On one of the sluices were found the following inscriptions:

On the east side.

Hanc iussit Lodovix, suavit Floræus, et undis
Curavit mediis Asfeldus surgere molem:
Non aliis votis almæ præsentior urbis.
Ars frænavit aquas, fluctus domuitque minaces.
Hinc tutela viget, stat copia, gloria crescit,
Hinc rex, hinc sapiens, herosque manebit in ævum.

On the west side.

LUDOVICI XV. Jussu,
FLORIÆ Consilio,
ASFELDI Ductu,
In Ævum stat hæc Moles.

Ars, naturæ victrix, aquarum impetum refrænat, facilem
navibus tempestate actis aditum dat, tutelam asserit, copiam
invehit, gloriam perpetuat, simulque principem, sapientem,
heroa, posteritati commendat.

In English, thus;

Louis and Fleury trust to Asfeld's care
Amidst the waves to raise this mighty pier.
Propitious to our pray'rs the fabric stood,
Curb'd the fierce tide, and tam'd the threatening flood:
Hence wealth and safety flow, hence just renown,
The king, the statesman, and the hero crown.

This

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twenty ships in the harbour, which were burnt. One hundred and seventy-three pieces of iron cannon and three iron mortars were destroyed, and twenty-two fine brass cannon and two brass mortars^m were sent to England, with the colours taken

This work,

By the command of Louis XV,

The advice of Cardinal Fleury,

And the direction of Count Asfeld,

Shall endure for ages.

Here art has subdued nature, set bounds to the raging waves,
opened an easy passage to ships in distress, ensured safety,
invited wealth, and perpetuated the glory of the monarch,
the minister, and general.

PARODY. *By an officer in the expedition.*

Louis and Fleury must, with Asfeld now,

Resign to George, to Pitt, to Bligh, and Howe.

One blast destroy'd the labour of an age,

Let loose the tides, and bid the billows rage:

Their wealth and safety gone, their glory lost,

The king's, the statesman's, and the hero's boast.

^m A return of the brass and iron ordnance, &c. At the batteries beyond Querqueville, great and small, 5 iron ordnance; at three batteries on this side ditto, 8 twelve and six pounders, iron; at Querqueville, 3 twelve pounders ditto; at Homet, 5 six pounders ditto; at Querqueville, 6 twelve and fourteen inch iron mortars, 1 brass ditto; at Fort Galette, twenty-four pounders, 4 of brass; at ditto, sixteen ditto, 4 of ditto; at ditto, twelve ditto, 2 of ditto; at ditto, fourteen inch mortars, 2 of ditto; on the road to Cherburg, twelve pounders, 2 of ditto; at Longlette, 3 twelve pounders, iron, and 1 iron fourteen inch mortar; in the town of Cherburg, of different sizes, 10 brass, and 52 iron ordnance; at the Sandhill intrenchment, 15 six pounders, iron; at Fort Tournaville, 2 forty-two pounders, iron, and 1 brass fourteen inch mortar.

—Total

taken in this expedition. In the mean time, that the engineers, assisted by the officers of the fleet and artillery, were employed in the demolition of this harbour, &c. the light horse were detached to scour the country, and to lay it under contributionⁿ. But by venturing too near the camp, which the enemy was forming, and every hour reinforced, at Walloign, about four leagues distant from Cherburg, there happened several skirmishes between the out-parties of each army, in one of which the brave Captain Lindsey, one of the most intelligent, active and industrious officers in the service of the light horse, was wounded by a musket-shot; of which he died universally regretted^o.

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Several
skirmishes.

This

—Total 22 brass ordnance, 99 iron ditto, 3 brass mortars, 2 iron ditto. Destroyed at Fort Galette, thirteen $\frac{3}{4}$ inch shells 400; at ditto, shot of different kinds 6000; at ditto, flint, casks 1; at ditto, lead shot, casks 2; powder left for the use of the engineers destroying the forts, barrels 17; ditto destroyed, with a great quantity of stores and shot thrown into the sea, at the redoubt at Tournaville, barrels 13; filled cartridges for forty-two pounders 40; one large gun; shells of fourteen inches 211; destroyed at Fort Galette, small arms 113; at Cherburg, ditto and musketoons 300; at Homet, pounds powder 21,000; at Cherburg magazine, ditto 27,000; match, tons 4.

ⁿ They brought hostages for the payment of 18,000l.

^o The general, attended by some of the commanding officers, going out to reconnoitre, with a detachment of grenadiers and a party of light horse, some of the French cavalry appeared at a distance. Captain Lindsey, of the light horse, was immediately ordered to attack them, at the request, as it

is

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1758.

Troops re-
imbark.

Import-
ance of this
blow.

This first object of General Bligh's instructions being performed, the troops re-embarked on the 16th, and continued two days in the harbour without seeing an enemy to molest or harrafs them in their retreat. And notwithstanding any cavils about the conduct, and delays, for which some blamed the commander in chief; it must be allowed, That the importance of this blow was not only considerable by the damage done the enemy; but it gave life and spirit to our people: it made them feel their own legs again, and to look a Frenchman in the face, without any of those apprehensions, that had grown out of past miscarriages. It was now we saw cannon and colours, trophies taken off the walls of our enemies, carried in triumph^p through the metropolis of the British

is said, of some young gentlemen, who were desirous to see the horse engage, he advanced with a brisk pace, without detaching from his front and flanks; and, falling in with a body of infantry posted behind a hedge, received a severe fire, which obliged the light horse to wheel about and retire.

^p On Saturday, the 16th of September, the cannon and mortars brought from Cherburg, having been exposed for sometime in Hyde-Park, passed by his Majesty, and set out from Hyde-Park, and came through the city in grand procession, guarded by a company of matrosses, with drums beating and fifes playing all the way to the Tower, where they arrived about four o'clock in the afternoon. There were twenty-three carriages, drawn by two hundred and twenty-nine horses, with a postilion and driver to each carriage, in the following manner; the first, drawn by fifteen grey horses, with the English colours and the French underneath; seven ditto, drawn by thirteen horses each; nine ditto, by nine horses

British empire: a spectacle, to which this generation had been a stranger; and the first enterprize upon the coast of France, for several ages past, which had done honour to our country, and brought disgrace upon the French.

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After considering his instructions, the commander in chief found that one principal view, in sending out this armament, was to make a diversion of the enemy's forces; to continue a warm alarm along the coast of France, and to make descents on any part from the easternmost point of Normandy, as far westward as Morlaix, inclusive; Grenville most naturally offered to be the next object of his operations. But when he considered that the enemy had no longer occasion

Reasons
for Bligh's
ulterior
operations.

for the cannon, by six horses each; three ditto, by seven horses each; one ditto, by five horses; then the two mortars, by nine horses each. These pieces were finely ornamented with the arms of France, and other hieroglyphics, such as trophies, &c. finished in a masterly manner, their names, exact weight, and nearly their bore, are as under, except the mortars:

Cannon	wt.	Inches in bore	Cannon	wt.	Inches in bore
Hecube	4090	6	Antonin	5740	6
Nitocris	4080	ditto	Insensible	5660	ditto
Emerillon	5320	ditto	Mailfaissant	5500	ditto
Temeraire	5680	ditto	Vanquer	5670	ditto
Augusta	5770	ditto	Juste	5490	ditto

In the second line.

Ulyffe	2353	4½	Sage	4346	5
Foudroyant	3311	5	Violente	4150	ditto
Renomyne	3367	ditto	Furieufe	4160	ditto
Laborieux	3302	ditto	Imperiuse	4130	ditto
Diligence	3960	ditto	Devineressé	4000	ditto
Moresque	3980	ditto			

for

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for a garrison or troops, to guard the town and country about Cherburg, and that there were ten thousand forces already assembled for the protection of Normandy, and that they could easily fall down towards Grenville, and move over to Caen, and to the other parts of that coast, so as to render an attempt almost impracticable: and being further informed, by advices sent from our ministry, that an attempt upon Morlaix would be attended with great disadvantages, there being a great number of forces stationed at Brest and in that neighbourhood, ready to oppose a descent upon that coast; General Bligh's future operations were prudently confined within a very narrow compass, which, upon the best intelligence, were resolved to be attempted against St. Maloes by landing at St. Lunaire, about two leagues west of St. Maloes.

Resolved
against St.
Maloe's.

Driven on
the coast of
England.

They put to sea on the 18th with this intention: but were driven by contrary winds upon the coast of England, and on the 23d came to an anchor in Weymouth road. Next day they weighed, and after some contention with the winds, they proceeded and made the French shore, on the 25th of August: But could not reach the place of their destination till the 3d of September in the evening, when the fleet came to an anchor in St. Lunaire bay. On the 4th the troops were landed without any opposition, but with the loss of eight men^a drowned, who were overset. They

Arrive and
land at St.
Lunaire,
on the coast
of France.

^a Some accouts say, five men and forty five firelocks. The weather was very doubtful. So that on the first day there only sixty light horse and two field pieces landed: nor could they bring any more for the succeeding days.

marched

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1758.

marched immediately to an eminence, and encamped there, about half a mile from the water-edge. A piquet guard of fifty men, with officers, was posted about half a mile above the camp, and kept under arms all night, to prevent a surprize. Which shot several of the enemy, and took others prisoners, who were sent to reconnoitre the situation and numbers of our army. Next day the commodore came on shore, with Prince Edward: and they accompanied the general to a village, about three miles from St. Maloes, to reconnoitre the seat of his intended action. But this act of curiosity had like to have proved fatal to his Royal Highness. The enemy, being apprized of their visit, ply'd them well with cannon balls, one of which dropt not a yard and half short of the Prince. However, Sir William Boothby returned this evening to camp, with his detachment of 300 grenadiers, who, with great bravery, marched within a mile of the outside of St. Maloe's harbour, and burnt thirteen ships: which were all that he found there.

The danger of
Prince Edward.Thirteen
ships burnt.

The reason that induced the commander in chief to make this attempt upon St. Maloes, exclusive of what is said before, was a supposition that, as the town was situated on a rock, almost surrounded by the sea, not above 600 yards long and 400 broad, excessive populous, and supplied with water by an aqueduct of pipes only; such a place, when once invested, would be soon obliged to surrender, by cutting the pipes and bombarding the town: and moreover he was induced, by

Reasons
for attacking
St. Maloes.

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1758.

Several
methods
proposed.

some intelligence, to believe, that in case of necessity, his troops might be able to open the wall, and to take the place by storm at low water.

The ships at St. Brisac being burnt, and the point of St. Dinar, and the whole western coast of the Rance, opposite St. Maloes, being reconnoitred, and found without any cannon for its defence, a council of war was assembled to consider of the practicability of the attack. In which it was observed, that as the body of troops now landed was greatly diminished, from what they were in the late expedition, it was impossible to invest the town on both sides of the Rance^r: they could only invest it now on the west side, by placing ships at St. Dinar, which the pilots, who were acquainted with the coast, thought very practicable. Three methods were then proposed of moving from thence to the opposite side to Parame and St. Servant. The first, which the pilots imagined would be practicable also, was moving the flat-bottomed boats in the night (a caution requisite on the coast of a fortified island) along the shore of St. Dinar, up the river, opposite to Tour a Chaus, a little above St. Servant, and there to carry the troops over. But there was a French

^r The mouth of the river, which forms the bason, is two miles over in its narrowest part, so as to be out of the reach of land batteries. The bason was also strengthened with seven frigates, or armed vessels, whose guns could be brought to bear either against ships entering the channel, or batteries to be erected on the shore: and fifty large cannon or batteries defended the entrance.

man

A. D.
1758.

man of war, with some other vessels, near Dinar-point, which would employ one night to destroy them, before this method could be put in execution. This circumstance would occasion delays; and other great difficulties being started, independent of this, the first method was rejected. The other two methods were, either going round by Dinant, about eighteen miles from the shore, and landing the artillery, &c. near Paramé; on embarking all the troops at St. Lunaire, and landing them again near Paramé, together with the artillery. But neither of these methods could be effected without the immediate aid of the men of war, anchored in such a station as to cut off the communication with Dinar and the western coast. The weather made this measure also impracticable. The commodore not only assured the general that it was impossible for him to give him assistance to bombard the town, without hazarding the loss of all the men of war, amongst the chain of rocks, that lie in that harbour: but that the weather would not permit him to lie any longer at the place where the troops disembarked; and that he must sail for the bay of St. Cas before he could take up the troops, if he intended to reimbark; it being with the utmost difficulty that he had landed the provisions, or sent a boat off with a message to the fleet.

Dangerous
anchorage
of the fleet.Proceeds to
St. Cas-
bay.

In consequence of these remonstrances, it was unanimously resolved not to attack St. Maloe^s. Attack of
St. Maloes
dropt.

* See the note on p. 88. Vol. III. See also p. 91. ib.

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1758.

Army re-
treats.

Skirmishes.

Orders to
burn and
destroy.

The general therefore ordered the army to de-camp early next morning, and they began to march towards the bay of St. Cas. The enemy now appeared in small parties, and harraßed our men by firing out of the woods; by which we lost ten men, and had two officers wounded. Our army encamped on the 7th in the evening, about half a mile from the village of St. Brisac, intending to ford the river Equernon^t, near that place, in the morning. The enemy's small parties kept our camp under arms all night, by their frequent alarms; but did them no damage. The peasants and some regulars took post at St. Guildo, on the other side of the river, as if they had resolved to dispute the passage with our army. However, on the 8th the whole army forded the river, each person, without distinction, wading up to his middle, and got over, in the midst of a brisk fire, with the loss of ten men and one officer killed, and two officers wounded: some of the soldiers lost their firelocks in the water, and were almost drowned, being hauled out with tent poles. The general sent a Friar to acquaint the commanding officer, that if they did not desist he would reduce all the villages he passed into ashes. The Friar did not return with an answer; and the general gave orders accordingly to burn and destroy every place in his march.

^t This river is passable only for about two hours at low water, and the ford is dangerous on account of quick-sands.

When

When the army had passed the river, the sun was almost set, by waiting for low water, the only time for them to pass over. Therefore, it not being advisable to advance by night, in a country that had not been reconnoitred, especially as he could get no certain information of the strength or situation of the enemy's troops, the general encamped that night a little way westward from the river in his rear; and without any molestation from the enemy. But next day the advanced guards, of three hundred grenadiers, under Colonel Clarke, on their march, were met about eleven o'clock, by five companies of French regulars, dragoons and infantry, who kept at the distance of about 150 yards, moving off gradually, as our men advanced, without any firing on either side^u. They drew up in the inclosures round the town of Matignon: but upon Colonel Clarke's forming his grenadiers, and detaching some parties to flank them, they immediately retired.

A. D.
1758.March to
Matig-
non.

Skirmishes.

The army came up to Matignon about one o'clock, without seeing any thing, but small parties, that endeavoured to harraßs our flanks: one of which advancing too far, made signal to surrender; but that not being readily perceived, one of our flanking parties fired, and killed the officer and some of the men.

Arrives at
Matig-
non.

^u Another account says, that they engaged, and that the Frenchmen, after the first fire, lost 200 men killed and wounded; and the rest fled.

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1758.

Why en-
camps
there.

Cruelty of
the French
to their
prisoners.

Intelli-
gence of
the ene-
my's
strength
and de-
signs.

Here was the post, which the general had designed to maintain, as long as he was able, in order to alarm the country, and contribute, as much as possible, by this means, to there calling of troops from Germany; his instructions directing him to continue with as much vigour, and to give as much duration to the various operations of the present expedition, as should be found practicable. For this purpose he ordered a camp to be marked out for his army, about half a mile on the left of the town. Upon the muster it was found that there had been lost, this day, about thirty men, of whom eleven were made prisoners. One escaped back again, and reported that his comrades had been put to death in a most barbarous manner.

Matignon was about a league from St. Cas. All the army encamped on this spot, except the grenadier companies, which covered the town on the other side; and the second regiment of guards, which the general sent to St. Cas for provisions, particularly for bread; and together with this detachment he ordered Colonel Cunningham, chief engineer, to reconnoitre the beach, and see what would be proper to be done, in case he could not maintain his ground.

Several deserters came to our camp in the evening; and by them, and some prisoners, particularly a French dragoon, taken by the piquet guard, the general was very well informed. That the enemy was encamped about two leagues off: that their army consisted of several regiments, collected

A. D.
1758.

lected from different parts of the province, even from Brest, and that neighbourhood: and that they were to be joined by the garrisons of other towns, especially that of St. Maloes, which were hourly expected in their camp, and that they were determined to give the English battle next morning. Thus the French army was represented vastly superior to ours: and it was further remarked, that it was in their power, either to give battle, or to retire, till such time as they could be sure of over-powering us by numbers^w; or of making

^w The French forces were very numerous. The following is an authentick list of them.

French Generals.

Le Duc d'Aguillon, commander in chief.

Marquis d'Aubigné, lieutenant-general.

Marquis de la Brock,

Monf. de la Tour Auvergne, } maj. gen.

Regiments of infantry from Brest.

	Battalions.	Men.
Bourbon	2	1400
Royal Vaisseau	2	1400
Royal Etrangers	2	1400
Brissau	1	700
Brie	1	700
Penthievre	1	700
	9	6300

Dragoons.

Squad.

Mahvert

2

Militia, guardes de coste,

and armed peasants

5000

Cannon

8

Mortars

8

N 4

The

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1758.

Retreat
resolved
upon.

making our retreat extremely difficult and hazardous.

The general officers, for these reasons, were of opinion that it was proper to march next day, and to embark the troops without loss of time: except Lieutenant-Colonel Clerke, the quarter-master-general, who advised the disembarkation of the rest of the light horse and field pieces, and advancing to attack the enemy without delay: however the majority prevailed. Orders were accordingly issued for the whole army to continue all night under arms: and the general sent his aid de camp immediately away to Lord Howe, to inform him of his intention to march the next morning, and to embark the troops, as soon as the naval preparations could be made for that purpose.

This night a party of the enemy alarmed the piquets: but after receiving the fire of one of the advanced posts, they fired a few shot and retired. It was resolved to march by break of day. But at one o'clock the enemy beat to arms, and some deserters came over, who informed us that the French were contriving to get between our army and the ships, and so to cut off our retreat. An information greatly suspected, to be contrived by the enemy, to frighten us away, rather than with a view to save us from being cut off. Be that as it will; this hastened our retreat, which, with an

The regiments that joined these troops from St. Maloes, the evening before the attack, were upwards of 3000 regulars, foot and dragoons, besides militia,

enemy

enemy at our heels, ought to have been conducted without noise, in the most secret and silent manner possible. But a little before day the generale was ordered to be beat; and the army, consisting at this time of 6,500 men, marched off the ground at break of day in one column only; and saw no appearance of an enemy attempting to break in between them and the water side; except that the grenadiers, which formed the rear-guard, were obliged to exchange some shot with the advanced parties of the enemy.

A. D.
1758.

The army
marches to
the water
side.

It was nine o'clock before the troops began to embark on the beach of St. Cas: when about four battalions were got on board, the advanced parties of the French appeared on the high grounds. The embarkation continued very quiet, till the French had formed themselves out, by degrees, thro' the inclosures: and when they saw themselves, both as to situation and numbers, capable of attacking our remains on the shore, with success, they brought their field pieces to bear, and a shocking carnage ensued of our men; not only on the shore, but in the boats, tho' Lord Howe did all in his power to cover them by a sharp fire from his frigates and bombs; there being none of our artillery on shore.

An ac-
count of
the re-im-
barkation
of the
troops.

The account of this affair is a very tender point: and as it has been related with several marks of prejudice, we will collect the facts from all the narratives of this expedition, and lay them impartially before the reader. First let us hear what

A. D.
1758.
By the
general.

what has been published under the name^{*} of the commanding officer, who says, “After the Generals Moyson, Boscawen and Elliot were on board the ships, with their several brigades; and after the greatest part of General Drury’s brigade, which was the last brigade, had been embarked, I went on board with those whose duty it was to attend me, there being no other troops, then on shore, but the rear guard, composed of the grenadiers commanded by Colonel Griffin. My anxiety for the troops made me stay perhaps longer than I ought^y, and contrary to my duty.

“Some parties of the enemy moved down from the high grounds on the right, and General Drury went with three companies of the first regiment, which was all of his brigade, that was at that time a-shore, to the assistance of the rear-guard.

“The beach was about three quarters of a mile long, with a sand bank in front, almost as advantageous for us, in many places, as for the

^{*} This letter was published on the 4th of November, and gave great offence at court, on account of the postscript, &c. where L—d L——r is mentioned. Wherefore, on the 8th an advertisement signed Thomas Bligh appeared, declaring in general, that he disavowed several particulars in this letter. However, it was still reputed a genuine apology for his conduct by himself or order.

^y Prince Edward also continued on shore till Lord Howe commanded him to return to his ship, in which his Royal Highness acted only as a midshipman.

“enemy;

“ enemy ; though they had formerly a bad kind A. D.
 “ of a parapet made to prevent our landing in 1758.
 “ that bay, which was but imperfectly destroyed.

“ Whilst our troops were covered by this sand
 “ bank, the frigates fired with great facility, over
 “ them, upon the enemy. So that had the artil-
 “ lery been brought ashore, in all probability it
 “ would have been lost, and could have been of
 “ no service, but by obstructing a much greater
 “ fire.

“ Some of our companies of grenadiers moved
 “ up to the top of this bank, and fired upon some
 “ of the enemy, who were coming down and
 “ forming from the heights, which killed a great
 “ many of them, and threw them into confusion :
 “ but fresh troops of the enemy advancing, they
 “ retired to the shore.

“ The rear-guard, the three companies of the
 “ first regiment included, consisted of about
 “ 1400 men, of whom were missing about 700,
 “ and of those between four and 500 were prison-
 “ ers. The number of killed and wounded
 “ amongst the enemy, according to their own
 “ most moderate accounts, was more than double
 “ that number.”

Such is the relation of this transaction, under
 the supposed direction of the General in chief.
 Let us now collect what was published under his By others.
 name and Commodore Howe's, and by other
 parties concerned in this enterprize. An officer
 of the marines informs the public, That his ship
 joined Lord Howe on the 3d of September, four
 leagues

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leagues W. of St. Maloes; and that next morning the troops being embarked in the flat bottomed boats, stood in for Alborough bay, about two leagues to the W. of St. Maloes, where they landed without opposition, under the cover of the Rose frigate and the Swallow sloop; except a few guns, which were fired from a battery on an island, on one side of the bay, whose shot dropt without doing any damage. There were orders given next morning for two frigates and a bomb to attack a battery on a peninsula, which some of our troops endeavoured to force by land; but that service was countermanded, because the Commodore thought it impracticable without hazarding the loss of the ships: yet this very battery was taken by a party of marines on the 9th, without any loss.

General Bligh, in his letter of the 13th to the secretary of state, refers to a former wherein he had mentioned the necessity of the fleet's quitting the bay of St. Lunaire, and its proceeding to St. Cas; for fear, he says, of being drove on shore against the rocks, the wind blowing hard upon the shore: that his army marched on the 9th to St. Guildo, on the 10th to Matignon, to meet the fleet, which lay out beyond St. Cas Bay, to get provisions: that in the evening he did receive intelligence, that there were twelve battalions of foot and two squadrons of horse at Lambale, on march to attack him, which came from Brest: that with the unanimous advice of the general officers he decamped, having sent to the Commodore

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dore to be prepared to receive his troops, marched on the 11th at 4 o'clock in the morning; and that the troops marched into the boats as fast as they arrived^z; the flat bottomed boats being ready to receive them. He adds, that the enemy did not appear on the heights above, till about an hour after his troops began to embark: that they soon after began to fire with their cannon, but did not attempt marching down, till almost all the troops were embarked, except the grenadiers, which made the rear-guard of the whole, who marched up to oppose their advancing, and behaved with great bravery and resolution; till, overpowered by numbers, they were, at last, obliged to give way, and retired to the water side: till the boats could come in to take them, where they suffered much by the enemy's fire.

Lord Howe's relation of this critical time of embarkation, sent to the Right Honourable WILLIAM PITT, says, That the former corps were taken off without any *considerable* interruption from the enemy: but in their attack upon the rear-guard several of his officers and men were made prisoners, and some were wounded and killed^a.

Other

^z Which was not till nine in the morning.

^a *List of the sea officers and men, killed, wounded, &c. at the re-embarkation of the troops, from the Bay of St. Cas, on the 11th day of September, 1758.*

Belonging to the Essex, one seaman killed, one wounded.—
To the Rochester, Mr. Somerville, second lieutenant, killed;
——, midshipman, wounded; seven seamen killed, eleven
wounded.

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Attacked
by the ene-
my.

Fire from
the ship-
ping.

Other accounts are more particular: six frigates, four bombs, and two floops stood into St. Cas Bay, to cover the re-imbarkation of the troops, who were formed near a windmill, on a hill about three quarters of a mile from the beach. At nine in the morning the army began to march down to the boats, which lay ready to embark them. By eleven, two thirds of the army, the wounded men, the light horse, a great many more, and the artillery were on board, when a body of the enemy's horse first appeared on the top of the hill, and a little afterwards, a much larger number of infantry occupied the ground round the windmill. When the enemy moved to descend, the bomb ketches played upon them with great success; particularly the Granada threw a thirteen inch shell so right as to oblige the horsemen to dismount, their horses becoming ungovernable; and the mortars being charged with pound shots, did great execution amongst the infantry also, and wherever they fell. But at half past eleven they opened a battery of six pieces of cannon, near the windmill, from which they kept a close fire on our troops while embarking, till they were obliged, by the number of shells thrown from the

wounded. — To the Portland, Captain Maplesden, taken; Mr. Lindsey, midshipman, wounded. — To the Montague, Captain Rowley, slightly wounded and taken; two seamen wounded. — To the Jason, Captain Paston, taken; one seaman wounded. — To the Salamander, Captain Elphinstone, taken. — To the Speedwell, two seamen wounded. — Total of seamen killed, eight; wounded seventeen.

ketches,

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ketches, to file off for a while towards St. Cas, and to descend the hill under the cover of a wood, in which the Irish brigade took post. But the continual shower of balls from our ships and ketches, soon found them out, dislodged them, and forced them back to their first post: where at twelve o'clock they opened a battery of cohorns behind a hedge, on the right of the mill; which was but of a small duration: for it was so severely handled by a continual fire from the ships, that it was silenced, after they had thrown no more than two shells, which did some damage among our troops. They again filed off to the left, and got possession of the village of St. Cas, half way down the hill. This obliged General Drury, who had with him the grenadiers of the whole army, to the amount of 1100, and four companies of guards, to draw them up on the beach to cover the battalions while embarking: and the enemy, to be less exposed to the fire from the ships, left the village, which was set on fire by a carcass, and got possession of a hollow way, which entirely covered them. They went down on both sides and in front; but were peppered so closely not only with shells, but with small shot, of one pound weight, (of which the Granada only expended about 3000, fired at the rate of two or 300 at a time, out of large mortars, that they made a great slaughter, and intimidated the French soldiers so, that their officers were obliged to drive them down before them, like sheep to slaughter. For some hundreds of them were killed in their descent to this hollow way, by the shipping,

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Miscon-
duct of
General
Drury.

shipping, before the armies engaged. It was now, that General Drury, formed his grenadiers in two divisions, and marched to attack the enemy, as they descended. But, by a mistake, this brave resolution turned to their destruction. For, the peasants had thrown up a sort of dyke to keep out the sea from overflowing the country ; which reached from one side of the beach to the other, the whole extent of the bay, and served as an excellent breast-work to cover our men from the enemy : but instead of making this use of it, the marching of General Drury's division over this dyke, who advanced to make the attack, within pistol shot, it was rendered useless to our men, and became of great advantage to the French. He certainly should have stood his ground and waited the enemy's approach behind the dyke : but he quitted his breast-work, to attack the enemy drawn up in form of battle, with a great superiority on the other side. The three front companies of grenadiers gave the first fire, killed every Frenchman as he advanced, (the beach being covered with their dead and wounded) and would probably have driven them back, having made them give way twice, had not the continual succours brought them back to the charge : and our three companies having expended all their ammunition, General Drury was at last obliged to give way in his turn. Now he perceived his error : for, in this time of need, the second division could not get over the dyke time enough to succour the first ; which was entirely broke : and but a few got back, with



LORD VISCOUNT HOWE.

with great difficulty. Thus put the enemy in pos-
session of the dyke, from whence they fired with
a continuance upon our grenadiers. There was
now no alternative. They could not turn again
for want of room; being close to the wall.
They must elude by the greatest of skill. The
general in this situation ordered the whole to
wheel immediately to the right, and to fire
the boats as far as possible. Some got out
but a battery, which the French had
the middle of the hill, played continually
numbers of the boats were hit. Some of the
some of the boats were hit. In one of them
in one of the boats, twenty, employed
which is intended to go to the aid of the
strand to go to the aid of the
suspecting the French, and to the
himself. The French, however, the fire of the
the whole fleet. The French, however, the fire of the
and many lives were lost. The French, however, the fire of the
have been lost. No more could be done.

THE WALK

So when the French, however, the fire of the
high to the right. The French, however, the fire of the
specie for one of the French, however, the fire of the
that took new courage. The French, however, the fire of the
they saw again. The French, however, the fire of the
and some of the French, however, the fire of the

THE WALK

with great difficulty. This put the enemy in possession of the dyke, from whence they fired with a continuance upon our grenadiers. There was now no alternative. They could not form again, for want of room; being close to the water. They must escape by the boats or be killed. The general in this dilemma ordered the whole to wheel immediately to the right, and to make to the boats as fast as possible; some got on board: but a battery, which the French had erected on the middle of the hill, played so furiously, that numbers of the boats were beat to pieces. In some of the flat-bottomed boats, ten, twelve, and in one sixteen seamen and a lieutenant, out of twenty, employed to row them, were killed: which so intimidated the boatmen, that they were afraid to go to the shore; till the Commodore, suspecting the cause of their backwardness, went himself^b, and stood upright in his boat, amidst all the fire of the enemy. Such an example animated the whole fleet: from that time no one skulked, and many lives were saved, that must otherwise have been lost. No men in the world could be-

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Run to
their boats.

Gallant
behaviour
of Lord
Howe.

^b *On Lord Howe's going into his boat, and showing himself to the sailors, in order to encourage them to advance to take in the troops at St. Cas.*

So when the Grecians to their navy fled,
High o'er the trench, Achilles rear'd his head.
Greece, for one glance of that tremendous eye,
Strait took new courage, and disdain'd to fly.
Troy saw aghast the living lightnings play,
And turn'd their eye-balls from the flashing ray.

POPE'S HOMER, Book 18.

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have with more bravery than ours did on this desperate occasion. Some of them turned about and discharged their pieces, while they stood almost to their chin in water, and then threw off their accoutrements and cloaths, and chose rather to swim for their lives, than be taken prisoners.

Great loss.

When they saw no retreat left for our men on shore, they mounted the dyke, and by a vast superiority of numbers, drove those that remained into the sea; most of whom were either drowned or killed; the fire from the ships not being able to cover them: because had it continued, our men must have suffered as much, or more thereby than the enemy. A few found shelter under a rock, and were taken up by our boats: and as soon as the fire ceased from the ships, the French gave quarter to those, who threw down their arms^c.

However

^c General Drury is reported to be shot in the breast, and being helped by a grenadier, pulled off his cloaths and taking to the water, was drowned. Sir William Boothby, who was second in command over the grenadiers, saved himself by swimming two miles, in his cloaths, to the ships. Sir John Armitage, a volunteer, was shot upon a rock, to which he swam for shelter.

List of officers taken prisoners.

Guards. Lord Frederick Cavendish, Lieutenant Colonel Pierson, Captain Dickens, Captain Hyde, W. Lieutenant-Colonel Lambert, Ensign Sir Alexander Gilmour, Captain Pownall.—Lord George Bentinck's. Captain Heathcote, Lieutenant Shearing.—Cornwallis's. Lieutenant Thompson.—Loudoun's. Lieutenant Price.—Effingham's. Captain Bromhead, Lieutenant Whyly, Lieutenant Denshire.—Manners's.

Captain

However it must be recorded to their eternal infamy, that whatever mercy the French pretended to shew to these, and compassion to the wounded, they were guilty of a most inhuman action, that must never be forgot.—When our boats were all out of their reach, the cowardly villains, says an eye witness, kept firing whole platoons on some of our naked men, that could not swim, and stood with their heads just above water, to be accidentally taken up by the boats of such vessels, as laid nearest the shore; which the seamen attempted with the risk of their own lives.

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French
inhumanity.

The conduct of those concerned in this expedition, was arraigned before the bar of the public with great freedom. The impropriety of landing the troops at a place, in unsettled weather, on a beach, from whence, except the wind blew directly from shore, and that but slightly, it was impossible to reembark them in time of necessity; and where they could not even effect the landing of the artillery, nor communicate with the fleet,

Remarks
on this expedition.

Captain Napier.—Wolfe's. Lieutenant Rose.—Lambton's. Captain Revel, Lieutenant Grant.—Richmond's. Lieutenant Price, Lieutenant Lambourn, doubtful.—Crenadier Guards. Captain Bridgman, Captain Matthews, Captain Caswell wounded.

List of officers killed.

Major-General Drury.—Guards. Captain Walker, Ensign Cooks.—Loudoun's. Lieutenant Williamfon.—Hay's. Captain Edmondstone.—Effingham's. Lieutenant Sandys.—Manners's. Lieutenant Moore. Lieutenant Wells.—Richmond's. Lieutenant Drummond.—Grenadier Guards. Captain Rolt.—Manners's. Lieutenant-Colonel Wilkinson.

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but under the most hazardous circumstances ; was said to be departing from that wisdom and ability, which had, on all former occasions, recommended the commander at sea to the favour of his King and country. The commander by land was also impeached for exposing his army to the manifest hazard of being distressed for provisions, and of having his retreat cut off by the enemy ; and for want of more caution in his retreat, before an army, of whose great superiority he had certain intelligence. Matignon was a full march out of his way from St. Lunnair to the bay of St. Cas : and the beating of the generale in the morning of his retreat, was publishing his intentions to the enemy, who, he was informed, was providing to give him battle that very morning. And if it be true that a proposal was made to the general to embark the force from a fair open beach on the left, between St. Guildo and St. Cas ; his rejecting that advice and adhering to those rash measures, that followed, will do no honour to his memory. The marching with drums beating, and in one column, which exposed our army to a variety of accidents, that should have been particularly guarded against in their circumstances ; and especially that delay, with which their march, of three miles from the town of Matignon, was protracted from three in the morning till nine, before they arrived on the beach of St. Cas, are most unaccountable facts. The dispositions for their embarkation has not escaped public censure. It is allowed, by way of alleviation in favour of the noble commander, that he

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he had received no proper notice for the re-imbarkation: but it was certainly a great oversight in such an urgent case, where expedition was the greatest means of safety for the army, that the boats did not push the men, they took up, on board the ships nearest in shore; but on the contrary, they through a punctilio of disposition, consumed much time in carrying the men to their respective transports, riding at the greatest distance; and some boats were most idly employed in carrying off horses and cows instead of men, in defiance of the sea officers. Besides, much blood had been saved, if the cutters and small craft, which laid idle, had been ordered in shore to the assistance of the troops. It is a pity that General Drury's memory should suffer for the intrepidity and bravery, by which he ventured and lost his life in the cause of his country. But he is blamed for suffering the French to disengage themselves from the hollow-way, without disputing the passage with them, with bayonets fixt, which was advised. Then, for quitting the dyke or breast-work with a handful of men to attack them, drawn up in a formidable front, without hopes of his being able to stand against superior numbers; instead of retreating, as he was advised also, along the beach to a rock on the left: in which retreat the right flank would have been covered by the entrenchment; and the fire from the shipping might easily have prevented the enemy's pursuit along shore.

In reply to these imputations there appeared an apologetical letter, wherein the commander in

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chief is made to say, "Every operation in war
" must appear to different men in very different
" views, even to men of capacity, abilities and
" experience. The greatest part of mankind,
" the military not excepted, judge without re-
" flection, and from trifling little views and cir-
" cumstances, which either are of no consequence,
" or which must often happen, in every operation,
" by the very nature of war.—However, I am
" convinced in the present case, that the real cause,
" and first spring of many peoples reflections on
" my conduct, is my success at Cherbourg: *such*
" *is the present melancholy situation* of our country:
" If I had acted the part of an ignorant coward,
" and dishonest man, I should have found friends
" and protection, where I found none.—I am very
" far from imagining, that I have not committed
" faults and errors. The greatest general in all
" ages, to whom I have not the smallest preten-
" sions to be compared, have confessed that they
" have committed the greatest mistakes every
" campaign.—For my part, when I considered
" the difficulties of acting with vigour upon the
" coast of France, with the number of troops
" under my command, greatly diminished from
" what they were upon the late expedition; I was
" very sorry that his Majesty was obliged to have
" recourse to me, and to desire me to accept of a
" command, which had been refused by so many
" general officers ^d."

^d See the letter from the Honourable L——t G——l
B——gh, to the Right Honourable W——m P——t, Esq;

The severe treatment of our forces, on this retreat, had so greatly weakened them, and the hazard foreseen by Lord Howe for the anchorage of the fleet on that part of the French coast, at this season of the year, till the further supplies provided, could be taken on board, if sent for, and the troops put again into a proper state of service, determined him, with the General's consent, to return for that purpose to any port he should be most able conveniently to gain in England^e. Therefore, having by a message, obtained leave of the Duke d'Aguillon^f, who commanded the French, to bury our dead. Which was done the next day: they sailed the day after for England, and arrived at Portsmouth on the 18th.

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Return to
England.

The French account of this affair gasconades pretty much, in regard to their own bravery and conduct, and to the loss on both sides: but they that read it will find enough in the enemy's own relation to confirm the good opinion of the bravery of our men, who, though but an handful, maintained an engagement an hour and a half with the whole force of the enemy^g.

French
account of
this affair.

Various

^e See Lord Howe's letter, dated the 12th of September, to Mr. PITT.

^f He also sent a list of his prisoners, which is given on p. 210.

^g The following relation of the affair at St. Cas, was published at Paris, September 22, by authority.

The Duke d'Aguillon having received information, the 5th instant in the evening, at St. Matthew, near Brest, that the English fleet, after having shewn itself the 3d, about a league to the north of St. Malo, where it cast anchor on the

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Effects of
this mis-
carriage.

Various were the effects of this miscarriage. The reception this news met with at home, will remain

3d, had, on the 4th, landed at St. Briac a body of 12 or 13,000 men, he dispatched couriers to the several commanders in that province, to march towards St. Briac with the troops under their several commands, except the garrisons of Belle Isle, L'Orient, Port Louis, and the Garde Costas of Nantz.

Those troops, which were cantoned near Brest, began to move the same evening, and proceeded directly to Lamballe: where, on the Duke's arrival on the 6th, he learnt, that the enemy had pitched their camp between St. Briac and Dinant, and had posted detachments at Ploubaly and Pleurtin, two leagues from Dinant. On this intelligence, he ordered the troops, which M. d'Aubigny had brought from Treguier, and which had reached Lamballe by two forced marches, to proceed the same evening to Dinant. On the 7th it was occupied before noon.

The 8th, in the evening, the Duke learnt that the enemy, who had left their camp at Briac that morning, were marching to the right in order to reach the Guildo, and pass it next day at a ford about a league from Plancoet. Upon this he determined to harass them upon their march.

The 9th, the enemy passed the Guildo, and encamped between St. Jegubel and the wood of Val.

The 10th, at break of day, the enemy arrived at Matignon, and encamped. The regiments of Bourbon, Brissac, Bresse, and Quercy, who arrived the night before at Lamballe, advanced from thence to Henan, a league from Matignon. The Count de Balleroy joined them there with two squadrons of dragoons, and took the command of this column. The second battalion of the regiment of Penthievre advanced from Jugen to Plancoet, and Messieurs d'Aubigny and de la Chastre had orders to join them and pass the Guildo. About noon the Duke de Aguilon came from Henan, with a large detachment, to Matignon, to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, whom he found very advantageously situated, and inexpugnable on that side.

On

remain a lasting monument, and a most admirable picture of the times. Almost every man of consideration

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On the 11th, the enemy, who during the night had made their dispositions for a retreat, began at day-break to fall back to St. Cas. M. de Broc followed close at their heels, and sent advice of it to M. de Belleroy, who marched directly to support him. The Duke d'Aguillon rode up at full gallop with Marheuff's dragoons, and joined M. de Broc's detachment, the van of which had got the eminences of St. Cas. He immediately ordered the dragoons to dismount, the ground being unfit for their service on horseback. It was now about nine in the morning. The enemy's fleet was drawn up in a line, and the boats had begun to embark the troops, which were drawn up in a line of battle upon the shore, in the bottom of the Bay of St. Cas, behind the Downs, and trenches which they had made to cover their embarkation. Our troops arrived with incredible speed, and placed themselves upon the eminences of St. Cas. As soon as the enemy perceived them, they began to fire upon them with cannon and bombs from four or five frigates and as many bomb-ketches that were very near the shore. Our cannon came up, and began to fire about ten. The Duke d'Aguillon settled the plan of his attack in an instant. He posted upon the right of the shore the Count de Belleroy, with the regiments des Vaisseux, Bourbon, Brissac, and Quercy, to go along the side of the hedges and a bank of sand, which led to the left of the enemy's entrenchments. M. d'Aubigny, with the regiments of Boulonnois and Brie, the battalions of Fontenay le Comte and Marmande, and the first battalion of Volontaires Etrangers, was posted on the left, to come down upon the right below the hamlet of Isle; and M. de Broc had orders to march with his detachment straight up to the enemy's center. The second battalion of Penthievre, with the third battalion of Volontaires Etrangers, under the command of the Chevalier de St. Pern, were posted in reserve. The Chevalier de Remond, quarter-master-general, led the column of the left. The Chevalier de Fontette,

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sideration thought it his own private interest, from various views and motives, to co-operate more or

Fontette, assistant quarter-master-general, was placed in the center, and M. de Bouquet, major of the regiment of Royal de Vaisseaux, acting as major-general, commanded the right.

During these dispositions, which were executed with uncommon ardour and diligence by the troops, the fire of the enemy's frigates and ketches continued with great vivacity. The column of the left fell down upon them first, about half past 11 o'clock, with great speed, and was soon followed by those of the centre and right. The troops marched up to the enemy's trenches with uncommon spirit, notwithstanding the prodigious fire from the fleet, both of cannon and bombs; and also of small arms from the rigging, and of several armed boats which covered their flanks. The enemy at first advanced, to form a column from their center: but the fire of some pieces of cannon, which M. de Villepatour, who commanded our artillery, carried to the right, soon put them in confusion, and made them retire. The engagement then became general, and lasted an hour and a half. The enemy were forced to give way, and our artillery killed a great number of their men, as they were endeavouring to re-imbark. Three of their boats full of soldiers were sunk, many more were killed in boats that reached the fleet. The firing ceased about two in the afternoon, when the enemy's frigates and ketches began to stand off from the land. About 1900 of them were left on the shore, among whom were several officers of distinction, and, in particular, a colonel and lieutenant-colonel of the English guards, besides those that were killed in the boats or drowned, General Drury is among the number of the latter. We have taken upwards of 600 men, and 39 officers, some of whom are of the first families in England, three or four colonels, as many lieutenant-colonels, and four captains of ships, that remained on shore to direct the embarkation. This body of troops is totally destroyed. We are informed by the enemy themselves, that of 12 companies of grenadiers, some consist-

ing

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or less with our enemies, in sinking and depressing the spirit of the state : as might be easily explained to the meanest capacity. General Bligh was not presented to his Majesty for some time. The advocates for a continental war made their use of it : and the opposition to the patriot minister raised the most invidious arguments against a littoral war with our natural enemy. In a word, it gave pleasure to many base, envious, jealous, little minds. But no argument can weigh so much in the balance of reason, as that which we are to draw from the behaviour of the French after their deliverance from those brave invaders of their coast. The more expressive their joy on such an occasion, the greater must be their sense of the importance of their deliverance. Their churches resounded with *Te Deums*, and their priests became the trumpeters of the court to encourage and prevail with them

ing of 100 men, others of 70, besides volunteers by sea, not one got back to their ships. Their whole loss may amount to about 4000 men. Ours amounts to about 400 killed or wounded ; but that of the officers is much greater in proportion than of the soldiers. The regiment of Brie and Boulonnois have suffered greatly, having been obliged to cross over very difficult ground, under the fire of the enemy's frigates, to get to their trenches. Notwithstanding this obstacle, these regiments marched with the most undaunted intrepidity, as did also all the companies of grenadiers and pickets, which have also lost a great many men. Never did troops discover more valour and alacrity ; they advanced with incredible diligence, notwithstanding the fatigue of double marches which they had made to get up, the greatest part having marched near fifty leagues in four days.

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to be always ready to defend their coast against the like attempt, by explaining to them the certain ruin of their trade, their navigation, their religion, and the disgrace of their King and country, should the English ever be able to carry the plan of these operations against their coasts into execution with success. For the best judgment of the importance of a measure is not to be formed upon its success in the execution; but upon the annoyance, and degree of danger, it is capable of bringing upon an enemy in their own opinion. And whatever might be the errors of conduct in the commanders of this expedition, the propriety of the measure is confirmed by the attention it drew from the French ministry: nor can the defeat be exaggerated beyond a skirmish with a rear guard: in which Colonel (Griffin) deserves much greater praise than the Duke d'Aguillon.

Spirits of
the Eng-
lish kept
up.

How strong soever the attempt of some was, to put the people out of humour with the minister, that had advised this expedition; their spirits were kept up, and they were so elated by the success of that glorious national plan, for ruining the French power and interest in North America, which began to operate powerfully in the advices received from thence, during these littoral operations; that, in general, this check, at St. Cas, was looked upon no more, than an accidental rub in the way of arms; to which the best concerted measures, and the most able and brave, are liable in the course of a war.

You

You have read that North America was the principal object of the minister's care, after providing for domestic security; and that he not only meditated the conquest of Cape Breton and its dependencies, and formed a plan to drive the French out of North America, but had taken such precaution, as to insure success to the naval and military forces appointed for these services ^b.

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The expedition
against
Louis-
bourg.

The Honourable Edward Boscawen, Admiral of his Majesty's blue squadron, sailed the 19th of February, from England, as commander in chief of all his Majesty's ships and vessels employed, and to be employed, in North America, and had under him Sir Charles Hardy, Knight, Rear Admiral of the white; and Philip Durell, Esq; commodore: and the fleet consisted of,

The fleet
employed.

Ships.	Guns.	Commanders.
The Namure	90	{ Hon. Edw. Boscawen Captain Buckle
Royal William	80	{ Sir Charles Hardy, Kt. Captain Evans
Princess Amelia	80	{ Philip Durell, Esq; Captain Bray
Dublin	74	Capt. Rodney
Terrible	74	— Collins
Northumberland	70	Rt. Hon. Lord Colvil.
Vanguard	70	Capt. Swanton
Oxford	70	— Spry
Burford	70	— Gambier
Somerset	70	— Hughes
Lancaster	70	Hon. G. Edgecumbe

^b See page 52, 53. Vol. III.

A. D.	Ships.	Guns.	Commanders.
1758.	Devonshire	66	Capt. Gordon
	Bedford	64	— Fowke
	Captain	64	— Amherst
	Prince Frederic	64	— Man
	Pembroke	60	— Simcoe
	Kingston	60	— Parry
	York	60	— Pigot
	Prince of Orange	60	— Fergussonne
	Defiance	60	— Baird
	Nottingham	60	— Marshall
	Centurion	54	— Mantell
	Sutherland	50	— Rous.

FRIGATES, &c.

Juno, Diana, Boreas, Trent, Gramont, Shannon, Hind, Portmohon, Nightingale, Kennington, Squirrel, Beaver, Hunter, Scarborough, Hawke, Ætna, Lightning, and Tyloe armed ship.

The army.

And the army consisted of 11,936 men, officers included, together with 324 men of the train; under the command of Major-General Jeffery Amherst, commander in chief of his Majesty's forces to be employed in the island of Cape Breton, &c. — Brigadier-General Edward Whitmore — Brigadier-General Charles Laurence — Brigadier-General James Wolfe — Colonel Bastide, chief engineer — Colonel George Williamson, commander of the train of artillery.

Arrive at
Hallifax.

This armament arrived safe, without any material accident, in the harbour of Hallifax, the capital of Nova Scotia, on the 9th day of May.
The

The Admiral immediately prepared for action: and being joined by all his forces and ships; and they well provided with water and stores of all sorts, and the sick men recovered fit for service, he proceeded with 157 sail, transports included, from Hallifaxⁱ, and steered to the seat of action.

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Gabarus Bay, about seven miles W. of Louisbourg, was the place designed for the landing of the army: where the fleet, with about a third of the troops, came to anchor about five o'clock in the afternoon of the 2d of June; and at six the admiral made a signal for all barges and pinnaces manned and armed, to attend the General and the Brigadier-Generals Laurence and Wolfe, who went that same evening to reconnoitre the shore as near as possible, and made a disposition for landing in three places, next morning, in case the troops arrived; who made this observation, that every place, where it was probable, or practicable, for our troops to land, was defended by works or batteries, and that the enemy had a chain of posts along shore from Cape Noir to Flat Point, and irregulars from thence to the bottom of the bay. But the troops did not come in till next day.

At Gabarus Bay.

Several hints were thrown out to the admiral about the impracticability of landing on a shore so strongly fortified and guarded, and concerning the danger of his Majesty's ships riding in a bay, where the pilots had no knowledge of the anchorage. These speeches alarmed the admiral, and put him upon the prudential method of coming at

Prudent
conduct of
the Admiral.

ⁱ On the 28th of May, and was joined by General Amherst and Bragg's regiment from the Bay of Fundy, the same day.

the

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Advised
not to call
a council
of war.

the real sentiments of his officers, by inviting them on board, one after another, and discoursing with them, separately, upon the subject of their immediate service. The general opinion leaned towards the impracticability, in so rough a sea, and so well fortified a shore; and for a council of war of both sea and land officers, to come to a final resolution: when it coming to the turn of Captain Fergussonne, an old, brave, and experienced officer, whom Mr. Boscawen had requested from the Lords of the Admiralty, to attend him in this service, and in whose opinion and conduct, on the most trying occasions, he could place great confidence; this captain, having delivered himself in the most respectful terms, in regard to the opinions of his brethren, whose reasons the admiral ingenuously related to him, and despising the arguments, drawn from the danger of the service, for proving an impracticability, without an actual attempt to land, and to force the enemy's posts with all the art and strength in their power, he advised the admiral, for his own honour, and the glory of his country, to exert that power, with which he was invested; and not to leave it to the uncertain resolutions of a council of war, which had been so fatal at Minorca, at Rochefort, and even at Hallifax, to the disgrace of all concerned, and to the extreme loss of the nation. Upon this remonstrance of one brave officer in private conversation, we shall see the turn this grand expedition took, for the interest of Great Britain. The admiral acquiesced in the justness of the captain's observation on councils of war: thanked him for his
open

open and honest advice: resolved to call no council of war, but strictly to adhere to his instructions, which was to land the troops on the island of Cape Breton. Here, said he, I will abide, and put them all ashore, and cover their retreat, if they think proper to reembark.

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This resolution dispersed the cloud of difficulties, that seemed to be gathering from every quarter. The admiral notified his determination not to depart out of that bay, till every way was tried to carry his instructions into execution. A signal was made for all lieutenants: to whom he gave strict charges to be diligent in the execution of those orders, they then received, for landing of the troops, and for assisting the military in every thing in their power, towards completing the service, in which they were jointly engaged: and about eleven that same (3d) day at noon, the Kennington was brought to an anchor close in shore of a cove at the North East end of Gabarus bay, which seemed to promise a convenient coast, for the intended descent; but was well guarded by several encampments, and a battery. The Kennington had orders to silence this battery, and to clear the coast of the enemy.

Prepara-
tions for
landing.

It was intended to attempt a landing that evening: but the weather growing hazy, and fresh gales, blowing into shore, creating a great surf every day, there could be nothing done effectually till the 8th; though the Hallifax snow was likewise ordered in shore against another battery on the 4th; and both she and the Kennington performed

Prevented }
by the wea-
ther.

A. D.
1758.

effectual service. These two were stationed on the left at the little bay in the N. E. to which was given the name of Kennington cove : the Sutherland and Squirrel on the right, near White Point, and the Gramont, Diana and Shannon frigates in the center. A disposition made by the admiral's direction to terrify and annoy the enemy's fortified camps, and to cover the boats employed to land the soldiers.

How effected.

On the 6th, the wind down and a thick fogg, the admiral made the signal for landing : but, before the boats were manned, the wind rising and a great sea tumbling, the descent was put off till the 8th, when the wind being favourable and the weather clear, (and Commodore Durell having reported, that it was his opinion, the troops might land on the left, without any great interruption from that morning's surff) the troops were debarked in the boats belonging to the men of war, and transports : the former under the direction of a lieutenant, mate or midshipman ; and the latter under the direction of the officers of the troops in each boat ; the general having given proper orders to each for landing them in three divisions. The signal for this debarkation was made about two o'clock : and as soon as the boats were prepared to set off from the ships, a most furious cannonading was continued, from about sun rise, from the Kennington and Hallifax and all the other ships, in their respective stations, along the shore, until about eight o'clock, with only

only some necessary intermissions in favour of the attempt. A. D. 1758.

The disposition for landing was made in three divisions in order to divide the forces, and to distract the enemy's attention. One division, under the command of Brigadier-General Wolfe, which was intended to attempt a landing on the left of Kennington cove, consisted of 550 light infantry^k, commanded by Major Scott, and four of the oldest companies of grenadiers, the companies of Rangers^k, supported by the Highland regiment, and those by the eight remaining companies of grenadiers. The boats with these soldiers on board rendezvoused near White Point, under cover of the ship guns, about four o'clock. A feint was made by the second division, consisting of the Royal, Lascelles, Monckton, Forbes, Anstruther and Webb, at the same time, to the right, to-

^k Our light infantry, Highlanders, and Rangers, the French termed the *English savages*, perhaps in contradistinction to their own native Indians, Canadians, &c. the true French savages. These light infantry were a corps of 550 volunteers chosen as marksmen out of the most active resolute men from all the battalions of regulars, dressed some in blue, some in green jackets, and drawers, for the easier brushing through the woods, with ruffs of black bear's skin round their necks, the beard of their upper lips, some grown into whiskers, others not so, but all well smutted on that part, with little round hats like several of our seamen.—Their arms were a fusil, cartouch-box of balls and flints, and a powder horn slung over their shoulders. The Rangers are a body of irregulars, who have a more cut-throat, savage appearance; which carries in it something of natural savages: the appearance of the light infantry has in it more of artificial savages.

A. D.
1758.

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1758.

wards White Point, under the conduct of Brigadier-General Whitmore: and the third division commanded by Brigadier-General Laurence, in the center, was formed of Amherst's, Hopson's, Otway's, Whitmore's, Laurence's, and Warburton's, and at the same time, made a shew of landing at the fresh water cove.

The
strength of
the enemy,
and their
fortified
coast.

The enemy had expected this visit, for some years. Which put them upon many devices to prevent, or to make a descent upon the coast of this island very difficult and hazardous to them, that would attempt an invasion. For this purpose they had finished a very strong breast-work, which was defended by 3000 regulars, irregulars and native Indians, posted along the shore, in all the probable places of landing, fortified at proper distances with heavy cannon and swivels of an extraordinary calibre, mounted on very strong perpendicular wooden stocks, driven deep into the ground; besides other cannon mounted on redans erected in the most advantageous situations for flanking an invading army.

Of an ex-
traordi-
nary na-
ture.

These fortifications were the most complete of their kind. Yet they had an extraordinary addition by an artful disposal of trees; which, being laid very thick together at the distance of 20 yards in some places, and of 30 in other places, between the lines and the waters edge, with their branches towards the sea quite round the cove, rendered the approaches to the front lines extremely difficult, even if there had been no fire to defend them. For the bare attempt of possessing these

these lines, says one that was present, would have been like penetrating, with incredible fatigue and endless labour, through a wild forest, where the branches of one tree are interwoven with those of another. What still contributed to the strength of this kind of fortification, was the manner of disposing the forest work in front; so that it only appeared at a distance one continued green of little scattered branches of fir. Very few guns on their lines were distinguishable out of the reach of their metal: and the rest were concealed with spruce branches, until the boats advanced towards the shore, with a resolution of forcing the works.

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1758.

Our boats rowed up to those places of destruction with the most undaunted courage. But, as they approached, in line of battle, the brave adventurers were presently convinced of their mistake, in regard to the appearance of the enemy's strength: and the enemy, too presuming of their own strong entrenchments and fortifications, unmasked the latent destruction somewhat before the proper time for its due exertion. Before our boats came near the water's edge, the batteries began to play, and to fire red hot balls, grape and round shot, with great activity; and a continual discharge of small arms showered upon them from the lines, which were about 15 feet above the level of the boats.

Resolution
of our
men.

This obliged the left wing to desist, and to withdraw from the impregnable shore of Kennington cove: and the consequence had been much more fatal to our people, few or any of whom

Left wing
retreats.

A. D. 1758. could have escaped, had the enemy suffered our men to land quietly upon that narrow shoal beach; for, then they must all have laid down their arms, or have been slaughtered upon the shore. But

Exasperated,

Land,

our troops were rather exasperated, than discouraged, by this unforeseen and masked way of firing, and making all the expedition they were able towards their center, it was determined with united force to defy all opposition and stratagem, and to land wherever there appeared a probability of any degree of success. Fortune favoured the attempt of the brave. Lieutenants Hopkins and Browne, with Ensign Grant and about 100 light infantry, opened an entrance to the shore on the right of the cove, over rocks and steeps, which had been deemed inaccessible and impracticable.

Brigadier Wolf seized the advantage; gave orders for the remainder to improve the present opportunity and to support their comrades on shore. Their impatience was such, that they cast off all restraint, and with impetuous emulation, the grenadiers, light infantry, Rangers, and Highlanders, strove who should get first on shore, though exposed, the whole time, to the furious fire of a battery of three guns, which sometimes raked, and sometimes flanked them; and to the continual discharge of small arms within 20 yards of them. But what was able to stop their fury? One boat was stove in the hurry, and some grenadiers were thereby drowned; and several overset and broke to pieces. The loss by the fire was so trifling as not to be mentioned; and chiefly amongst

amongst the seamen, that had the care of the boats. The landing was effected at this place. A. D.
1758.

Amongst the foremost in this hot service we find Brigadier Wolfe himself, who jumped out of his boat into the surff, which kept them dancing on the water, and exposed to the enemy's fire. His example was followed by all the troops. Brigadier Laurence with the rest of the brigades, did the same, a little to the left, soon after: and they were supported with all convenient expedition by the remainder of the center from the ships, and by the division of the right wing, which also gained the shore amidst a continual discharge of shot and shells from the enemy's lines. The rear was brought up by Major-General Amherst, bearing testimony to the resolution and bravery, with which those troops, he had to depend upon in his future arduous undertakings, had surmounted difficulties and despised dangers.

It was not the strength and stratagem of the enemy they had solely to combate: the boisterous surff, which drove on most parts of the shore at that time, stove a great number of the boats; by which several of the men were so much hurt and bruised, as to be very incapable of helping and taking care of themselves, and some were crushed to pieces between the boats and the rocks. Most, that did land, were obliged to do it without order and in much confusion, wading through the great swell, and their arms much wetted: then to scramble up such rugged rocks, and almost upright precipices, as had been deemed inaccessible and

General
Wolfe
leaps into
the sea and
is followed
by the
men.

Boats
stove.

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1758.Dangers
surmount-
ed.

in no need of fortifications for their defence, by the enemy's skilful and wary engineers; their own steep, rough ascent having been judged beyond the attempt of men under arms, before this glorious day. These were not the only discouragements. They were in a situation that would not allow them to make a proper use of their arms, and were themselves, the whole time, exposed to the utmost fury of the enemy's fire, in landing and climbing the rocks.—A spirit, that will always exert itself, where Englishmen are allowed to act against an enemy.—A danger, which a council of war would never encounter. Which makes good the observation, That national virtue is to be sought for in the spirit of the soldiery, and not solely in the councils of their officers, where a majority has frequently deprived the nation of the advantages, that might have succeeded by the vigorous and brave minority. For, this national spirit of our soldiery was never known to flag, under the conduct of such commanders, as signalized themselves on this occasion.

Draw up
and attack
the batte-
ries.

Such an unexpected gaining what had, till now, been thought an inaccessible shore, and landing in the most incredible places, terrified the astonished foe: and our men acquired such an increase of spirit and fortitude, by every difficulty they surmounted, that being arrived at a convenient place to unite, they instantly attacked the next battery to them, in flank, with so much vigour, as drove the enemy from that strong post, with great precipitation: and with one continued exertion of
the

the greatest bravery, in surrounding and attacking the enemy's extensive lines, they saw themselves masters of the whole shore and all its works, before they had hardly time to give one regular stroke of true English bravery.

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1758.

The slackening of their fire, when the enemy saw our men land pretty near them; and the faint resistance they made, when our troops attacked their lines and batteries, shew that the French placed their whole confidence in the strength of their coast: that they never had dreamt of being driven to the necessity of defending their posts sword in hand: that they had formed no plan of retreat, nor a place of rendezvous, for them to rally and give us battle, before our troops could be succoured and supplied with artillery from the ships: in a word, they were disciplined to fight under cover, and where the mask was pulled off by force and dint of courage, their cowardice appeared, and they ran away, with the utmost consternation and confusion, into the woods; leaving some of them killed¹ in the flight, and about 70 prisoners: amongst whom were two captains and two lieutenants of grenadiers^m.

The enemy flies.

The

¹ Amongst the slain was one officer and a native Indian chief, a very stout, well made and a very active intrepid man. He had a medal of distinction about his neck, which was taken and presented to Admiral Boscawen.

^m The loss of his Majesty's troops in landing was Captain Baillie and Lieutenant Cuthbert, of the Highland regiment, Lieutenant Nicholson, of Amherst's, four serjeants, one corporal and thirty-eight men killed; twenty-one of whom were grenadiers,

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1758.

Conduct of
the Eng-
lish on
shore.

The next and immediate care of the commander on shore, was so to dispose of his troops, as at once to possess the shore, to pursue the enemy, and to prevent a surprize. Which was done by detached parties: one of which secured the possession of the shore for several miles, as far as Louisbourg; and found, in different places, abandoned by the enemy, seventeen pieces of cannonⁿ, fourteen large swivels, two mortars, one of brass eight inches, and another of iron ten inches diameter, with a shell in it ready to be fired; a furnace for red-hot balls, several small arms, and a good quantity of provisions and ammunition, tools and stores. The other party employed in the pursuit of the dispersed enemy was commanded by Wolfe and Laurence, who drove them over rocky hills and boggy morasses, till they got under the protection of the guns of Louisbourg; from whose ramparts, about ten in the morning, our pursuing party was saluted with a discharge of several pieces of cannon. By which we gained an exact distance, for encamping with security from the town, to invest it; and it did not damage our troops: and the general of-

nadiers, and of these eight were shot, the rest drowned in trying to get ashore: five lieutenants, two serjeants, one corporal, and fifty-one men were wounded. And of the five companies of rangers one ensign and three private men killed, one missing and one wounded; and above 100 boats were lost.

ⁿ Viz. 3 twenty-four pounders, 7 nine pounders, and 7 six pounders.

ficers

ficers did, that very afternoon, mark out a camp on the very spot, which they afterwards occupied during the whole siege. The enemy no sooner saw the preparations for a camp so near them, than the governor of Louisbourg ordered the barrack at the grand battery, already dismantled and ruined, to be burnt. He gave the like orders relative to all the out-buildings; and left nothing standing within two miles of the town walls, but the tower at the grand battery, and some chimneys and gable-ends of wretched hovels.

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1758.

Encamp.

Such was the incredible service and extraordinary achievements of *a day*; that must be ever glorious in the annals of this nation; and convince posterity, that no difficulties nor dangers are sufficient to withstand the impetuosity of an English army; and that every thing ought to be tried, before a council of war shall venture to pronounce an attempt impracticable. How that might have been, had Admiral Boscawen left the practicability of this service to the resolutions of a council of war, from which he was dissuaded by the advice above-related, is uncertain: but, if we may be allowed to judge from events, there would be very little hopes in trying so desperate an experiment in tactics, had these hazards been foreseen, and coolly weighed with the balance of personal safety.

Remarks.

Being in possession of the shore, the next attention devolved upon the measures to be pursued against the famous fortification, that terror of North America, Louisbourg, the principal object

Siege of
Louif-
bourg.

A. D.
1758.

ject of this expedition, whose garrison consisted of 2500 regular troops, 300 militia, formed out of the burghers, and 350 Canadians, who during the siege found an opportunity to get into the town: and in the harbour there lay six ships of the line and five frigates. Which, with the difficulties, they foresaw in the communication with the fleet, through the badness of the weather, and the continual surf on the coast, that greatly endangered the navigation of the small craft, and in the length of their approaches over very bad marshy ground, prognosticated a long, tedious and hazardous siege. However, the commander in chief took every precaution, by securing his camp with redoubts and epaulements, from any attempt by the Canadians, who might be expected to make a powerful effort to relieve the town, and from the fire of the French ships in the harbour, to secure his communication with the fleet: and with a resolution and conduct, becoming one in his circumstances, he was determined and prepared to meet the greatest dangers.

The surf continued so extremely bad, that he could get only some tents ashore. Nor could any thing more be landed for the army, till the 11th, when the remainder of the troops, the light six pounders, and some artillery stores were carried ashore. Had the enemy, with their superiority of numbers, and other considerable advantages, attacked our little army, in want almost of every thing, and their communication with the fleet precarious, during this interval, they might have greatly

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greatly perplexed our situation. But a fatal timidity confined their attention to their town's defence; till it was too late to think of attacking our trenches. On the contrary, General Amherst, on the 12th, detached Brigadier Wolfe, with 1200 men, four companies of grenadiers, three companies of rangers, and some light infantry, round the north-east harbour, with orders to proceed to the light-house point, with an intention to silence the Island battery, and to attempt the destruction of the ships in the harbour; and, at the same time, sent by sea the artillery, tools, &c. which had been ordered for that service. As Brigadier Wolfe approached, the enemy abandoned every post in his rout, leaving their artillery, &c. and a great quantity of fish, at a place called Lorembec; all which were destroyed or rendered useless: and our troops took possession of Light-house point, and all the posts on that side the harbour.

At last, on the 13th, the French thought of sallying out of their strong fortifications. Our men were employed in making a communication from the right to the left in the front of the camp, and in erecting three redoubts on the most advantageous ground in the front also. A French party put on a vigorous countenance, and marched towards our works: but they were soon driven back, with the loss of five killed and forty wounded, by the light infantry. On the 14th the cannonade from the town continued almost all day: and their Island battery and ships gave our men
some

A. D. 1758. some trouble till the 25th, when the Island battery was silenced by the batteries we had made at the light-house.

The perpetual duty either in working on the roads, in draining of bogs, in erecting of redoubts, batteries, block-house, &c. and in watching the motions, and resisting the efforts of the enemy, fell very heavy upon so small an army, that was obliged to have several parties out: Besides, Colonel Meffervey, and most of his carpenters were taken ill of the small-pox; of which the colonel, his son and 96 of his carpenters died before the 27th of this month: therefore Admiral Boscawen ordered 200 marines to guard the coast at Kennington Cove, which proved a great ease to the army.

On the other side, the besieged endeavoured to throw further obstacles in the way to retard our operations^o; not doubting, if they could prevent an attack by sea, that they would be able to hold out against the land forces, till the season would so far advance, as to oblige the English to re-imbark. With this view the governor of Louisbourg, on the 29th, at night, ordered the Apollo, a two-decked ship; la Fidelle, a 36 gun frigate; la Chevre, and la Biche, of 16 guns each, to be

• On the 19th the Echo, a French frigate of 32 guns, was brought into Gabareuse bay. She had got out of the harbour on the 13th, and was bound for Quebec. By which prize it was known that the Bizarre had got out on the day our troops landed, and that the Commette had sailed from thence some days after.

funk,

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1758.

funk, in the harbour's mouth, with most of their masts cut off; to obstruct the passage for our great ships. And as our works advanced, the cannonading from the town and the shipping ^p increased also: and several skirmishes happened daily between parties from the town and our light infantry; but with no success, nor with much advantage on our side. But on the 9th of July the enemy made a fortie ^a, where Brigadier Laurence commanded. They came from Cape Noir, and surprised a company of Forbes's grenadiers, commanded by Lord Dundonald, posted in a flecke on the right. Major Murray, who commanded three companies of grenadiers, immediately detached one, and drove the enemy back, with the assistance of Whitmore's and Brag's, who behaved very well.—In this skirmish Lord Dundonald was killed, Lieutenant Tew was wounded and made prisoner: Captain Bontein of the engineers was taken prisoner; one corporal and three men killed; seventeen men wounded, and one serjeant and eleven men were missing. On the part of the fortie Chevalier de Chauvelin, a captain, was killed: one lieutenant was wounded and taken prisoner: seventeen men were killed, four wounded and made prisoners, besides others wounded and carried into the town, amongst whom was a captain that died immediately.

^p Five line of battle and a frigate of 36 guns, in the harbour.

^a Of five piquets, supported by 600 men.

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The works being advanced within 650 yards from the covered way, under the direction of Brigadier Wolfe, on the 13th four batteries were traced out, with an intention to place twenty-four pounders, to destroy the defences, and a battery of seven mortars, with some twelve pounders, to ricochet the works and the town. And on the 16th, towards night, the same brigadier pushed on a corps, and took possession of the hills in the front of the Barasoy, where a lodgment was made in the midst of a very brisk fire from the town and the shipping; yet there appeared no great hopes of speedy success against the town; till on the 21st, when it was greatly alarmed with an explosion of gun-powder on board a ship in the harbour, that blew up, and set fire to the sails of two more. They burnt very furiously; being deprived of all assistance from the town, by the continual fire from our batteries, to prevent boats going on board. By which accident the enemy lost the *Entreprenant*, the *Capricieux* and *Superb* men of war; so that there remained no more than the *Prudent* and *Bienfaisant* in the harbour, to guard against any surprise or assault by sea.

Two of the batteries, with 13 twenty-four pounders, and that of seven mortars on the right, were opened on the 22d, and played with great success; and at last our shells put the citadel in flames; though the enemy fired well from the town, threw their shells into our works, and fired all sorts of old iron, and any stuff they could pick up. For which reason the French mortars,
we

we had taken, were sent to throw stones into the town from the trenches.

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On the 23d the cohorns were used at night; and the batteries succeeded so well that they set fire to the enemy's barracks, which burnt with great violence. But the Admiral, dubious of the time the siege might take, with the present strength on shore, on the 24th, ordered four hundred seamen to assist in working the batteries, &c. and 200 miners were added to a corps of 100 already established: which had the desired effect. From this time the fate of the besieged seemed to be determined. For, on the 25th they had brought all their batteries to bear: and the admiral concerted measures with the general to destroy the Prudent and Bienfaisant in the harbour. Six hundred sailors were detached from the fleet, in boats, to perform this service, to take or to destroy those two men of war; whose intention and proceedings were covered by an extraordinary cannonading from our batteries, to keep the enemy's attention fixed altogether to the land-service. The fire never ceased: and the sailors boarded the two ships; burnt the Prudent, which was a-ground; and towed off the Bienfaisant to the north-east harbour^r. In the mean time, the miners

^r Of which gallant action Admiral Boscawen sent the following account to Mr. PITT, dated 28th of July 1758.

“ I cannot help mentioning a particular gallant action in the night between the 25th and 26th inst. the boats of the squadron were, in two divisions, detached under the command of Captains Laforey and Balfour, to endeavour either to take

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miners and workmen went on very well with their approaches to the covered way, under a continued

or burn the *Prudent* of 74 guns, and *Bienfaisant* of 64, the only remaining French ships in the harbour; in which they succeeded so well, as to burn the former, she being a-ground, and take the latter, and tow her into the north-east harbour, notwithstanding they were exposed to the fire of the cannon, and musquetry of the island battery, Point Rochford, and the town, being favoured with a dark night. Our loss was inconsiderable, seven men killed, and nine wounded. I have given the command of the *Bienfaisant* to Captain Balfour, and the *Echo*, a frigate, to Captain Laforey."

About noon, by the admiral's order, two boats, a barge and pinnace or cutter from every ship of the fleet, except the *Northumberland*, an invalid, manned only with their proper crews, and armed with musquets and bayonets, cutlasses, pistols and pole-axes, each boat under the direction of a lieutenant and mate or midshipman, rendezvoused at the admiral's ship: From thence they were detached, by two's and three's at a time, to join those of Sir Charles Hardy's squadron off the mouth of the harbour. There they were, in the evening, ranged in two divisions, under the command of the two senior masters and commanders in the fleet, the Captains Laforey and Balfour.

In this order they put off from Sir Charles's squadron about twelve o'clock, and by the advantage of the foggy darkness of the night, and the inviolable silence of their people, paddled into the harbour of Louisbourg, unperceived either by the island battery, they were obliged to come very near to, or by the two men of war that rode at anchor at no great distance from them. There was no great probability of their being perceived from any part of the garrison, not only on account of their greater distance, but also of the preconcerted brisk diversion made upon them, from all our batteries, about that time. Besides, the besieged themselves left nobody an opportunity to hear any noise: For, from having in the day-time observed the numerous scaling ladders that were brought into

tinued and very smart fire from it, with grape-shot, and all sorts of old iron from the guns of the ramparts.

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Every into our trenches, they were under some apprehensions of an escalade, intended as this night, and kept a constant fire with their musquetry from the ramparts, during the whole time, with the design, if possible, to deter the besiegers from that attempt, by shewing them how well they were upon their guard in all the places it could probably be made.

During this seeming security and prudent precaution on both sides, the bold stratagem of the boats, for surprising the two remaining ships in the enemy's harbour, every moment ripened for the execution. After pushing in as far almost as the grand battery, lest the ships should be too soon alarmed by their oars, they took a sweep from thence towards the part of the harbour, where the gentlemen knew the ships were, who had before very well reconnoitred it—and presently discovered them. Each division of the boats was no sooner within sight and hail of the noble object of their attempt, Captain Laforey's of *Le Prudent*, and Captain Balfour's of *Le Bienfaisant*, than while the centinels on board having hailed them in vain, began to fire on them, each of the commanders ordered his boats to give way along side their respective ships, and to board them immediately, with all the expedition and good order they could observe.

The boats crews, no longer able to contain themselves in silence, after their manner, gave loud cheers as they were pulling up along side, and with the most intrepid activity, armed some with muskets, bayonets and cutlasses, others with pistols, cutlasses and pole-axes, followed their brave leaders, and boarded the ships in an instant, with great spirit, on each bow, quarter and gang-way—and after very little resistance from the terrified crews, soon found themselves in possession of two fine ships of the enemy, one of 74, and one of 64 guns, with the loss of very few of the seamen, and but one mate.

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Every thing concurring to discourage any longer resistance or defence ; there being no hopes of relief

The besieged were now sufficiently alarmed on all sides, by the noise of the seamen at boarding, the cheers leaving them no room to doubt that it was from English seamen, and the direction of the confused sound of voices, and firing afterwards, soon leading them to suspect the real fact, an attempt upon their ships. The heroic, successful adventurers were employed in securing their prisoners in the ships holds, and concerting the most effectual methods for securing their prizes out of the reach of the enraged enemy ; when both the ships and boats received a most furious fire of cannon, mortars and muskets, from all parts that it could be directed to them, from the island battery at no great distance, from the battery on Point Maurepas a little farther off, and from all the guns of the garrison that could be brought to bear on that part of the harbour.

After endeavouring in vain to tow off *Le Prudent*, they found she was on ground, with several feet water in her hold. There now remained nothing in their power to do, to prevent her being recovered by the enemy, but to set her on fire—which they did with all possible expedition ; leaving along side her a large schooner, and her own boats, for her people to escape in to the shore, which was at no great distance from her. On board of this ship they found a deserter from our camp, who was killed in the little bustle at our people's taking possession of her, and by that means rescued from the ignominious execution of military justice.

The boats from *Le Prudent* now joined the others about *Le Bienfaisant*, and helped to tow her off triumphantly in the midst of a formidable fire from the mortified enemy ; which they did with great speed, by the assistance of a little breeze, and what ragged sails, yards and rigging she had left of any service after the constant fire she had so long received from our batteries. When they had thus got her out of the distance and direction of the enemy's guns, they secured her till the

next

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lief from Europe, nor any further aid from Canada ; their ships entirely destroyed ; their harbour untenable ; their fortifications ruined in many places ; divers practicable breaches made ; the garrison in no condition to repulse an assault in breach, nor even an escalade ; and sensible that every advantage gained by the besiegers was a nearer approach to their ruin, disposed the governor to the humane consideration of putting a stop to the further effusion of christian blood. For which purpose he wrote to General Amherst, requesting a capitulation upon the same conditions as had been granted to the English at Port Mahon. But the general having been previously informed by Admiral Boscawen, of his intention to send six ships into the harbour next day, to accelerate the operations by land, as the most effectual way to

next day, by an hawser, in the north-east harbour, and enjoyed on board her the first joyful moment's leisure of securely congratulating each other on their success and safety in this hazardous enterprize.

The taking of these two ships by our fleet's boats, on this memorable occasion, as it must be a lasting, indelible honour to the vigilance and activity of those who projected, and to the bravery and conduct of those who executed, the bold design ; will also be a new, and perhaps a seasonable conviction to the whole world, that, however arduous, however apparently impracticable any purposed naval attempt may be, the English seamen are not to be deterred from it by any prospect of difficulty or danger, but will exert themselves as far as men can do, and at least deserve success, when led on to it by such as are worthy to command them.

And the bold and successful execution of this enterprize, with the preparations made for a general assault, so terrified the garrison, that next day they surrendered.

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oblige the garrison to surrender prisoners of war, he rejected the French governor's proposal; insisted upon his surrender at discretion, and threatened him with a general assault by Admiral Boscawen, next morning, in case he did not chuse to submit on those terms. M. Drucour could not relish the thoughts of yielding to those arbitrary impositions: and as an officer that had behaved well in his present capacity, thought himself and the brave fellows under his command, intitled to some sort of distinction and favour, and to the honours of war: so that he seemed resolved, and did declare, that he would risk a general assault, before he would comply with such severe terms. However, his stomach was brought down by the petitions and representations of the traders and inhabitants of the place, and of the commissary and intendant of the colony; who foresaw immediate and universal ruin, should the enemy be provoked to make a general assault by sea and land. Accordingly the French governor accepted and signed the following capitulation:

Capitulation.

Articles of capitulation between their Excellencies Admiral Boscawen, and Major-General Amberst, and his Excellency the Chevalier Drucour, Governor of the Island of Cape-Breton, of Louisbourg, the Island of St. John, and their appurtenances.

I. **T**HE garrison of Louisbourg shall be prisoners of war, and shall be carried to England in the ships of his Britannic Majesty.

II. All

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II. All the artillery, ammunition, provisions, as well as the arms of any kind whatsoever, which are at present in the town of Louisbourg, the islands of Cape-Breton and St. John, and their appurtenances, shall be delivered, without the least damage, to such commissaries as shall be appointed to receive them, for the use of his Britannic Majesty.

III. The governor shall give his orders that the troops, which are in the Island of St. John, and its appurtenances, shall go on board such ship of war, as the admiral shall send to receive them.

IV. The gate, called Porte Dauphine, shall be given up to the troops of his Britannic Majesty, to-morrow, at eight o'clock in the morning; and the garrison, including all those that carried arms, drawn up at noon, on the esplanade, where they shall lay down their arms, colours, implements, and ornaments of war. And the garrison shall go on board, in order to be carried to England in a convenient time.

V. The same care shall be taken of the sick and wounded that are in the hospitals, as of those belonging to his Britannic Majesty.

VI. The merchants and their clerks that have not carried arms, shall be sent to France, in such manner as the admiral shall think proper.

Louisbourg, 26 July, 1758.

(Signed) Le Chevalier de DRUCOUR.

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English
take pos-
session.

In consequence of this capitulation, Major Farquhar, with three companies of grenadiers, took possession of the west gate, on the 27th in the morning, and Brigadier General Whitmore was charged with the disarming of the garrison upon the esplanade. He also received the surrender of their colours; and placed proper guards in the several posts, and over the stores, magazines, &c. The conquerors behaved with great humanity towards the prisoners: but to remove from them all temptation of breaking their capitulation, the general ordered all their arms to be carried out of the town.

Loss of the
English.

Thus we may observe with surprize, that Louisbourg, and therewith the whole island of Cape Breton, which had been represented so formidable and almost impregnable and impracticable, on former occasions, fell to the arms of a much less force than had been shipped in the foregoing year for the same service, with the insignificant loss of 21 commissioned and non-commissioned officers, 146 private men, one gunner, and three matrosses killed; and 30 commissioned and non-commissioned officers, two drummers, 315 private men, one corporal, one gunner, and three matrosses wounded.

Of the ene-
my.

The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded was much more considerable; and besides 5637 men, which the garrison consisted of at the surrender, there was a great quantity of artillery,

tillery, stores, &c.^s Nor was this their whole A. D.
loss: for the island of St. John, in the Gulph of 1758.

^s *An account of the guns, mortars, shot, shells, &c. found in the town of Louisbourg.*

Pounders.				
Iron ordnance, mounted on stand- ing carriages with beds and coins.	{ 36	38	Grape shot	{ 13 lb. 139
	{ 24	97		{ 24 134
	{ 18	23		{ 12 336
	{ 12	16	Cafe shot —	{ 6 130
	{ 8	10		{ 24 53
	{ 6	28	Double headed	{ 24 245
Mortars, brass with beds.	{ 4	6		{ 12 153
	{ 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ Inch	3	Shells —	{ 13 Inc. 850
	{ 9	1		{ 10 38
Mortars, iron with beds.	{ 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	3		{ 8 138
	{ 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	Lead, pig	{ 6 27
	{ 11	4	Do. sheet	{ Tons 12
Musquets with accoutrements	{ 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	Iron of forts	{ Tons 6
			Wheel-barrows	600
Powder, whole barrels —		7500	Shovels, wood	760
Musquet cart- ridges —		80,000	Ditto, iron	900
Ditto balls		Tons 13	Pick axes	822
Round shot	{ 36 Pdrs	1607	Iron crows, large	22
	{ 24	1658	Ditto, small	12
	{ 12	4000	Iron wedges	42
	{ 6	2336	Hand mauls	18
			Pin mauls	12
			Masons trowels	36
			Hammers	36
			Axes	18

State of the garrison of Louisbourg, July 16, 1758, when it capitulated.

Names of regiments,	Officers.	Soldiers fit for duty.	Sick and wounded.	Total.
Twenty-four companies of the usual garrison, and two of the artil- lery — —	76	746	195	1017
Second battalion of Volontaires Etrangers — —	38	402	86	526
Second battalion of Cambise —	38	466	104	608
Second battalion of Artois —	31	407	27	466
Second battalion of Bourgogne —	30	353	31	414
Total of the garrison	214	2374	443	3031
Sea officers, private men and marines fit for duty, with the sick and wounded, belonging to the ships	135	1124	1347	2606
		Total prisoners		5637
				St.

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St. John's
surrenders.

St. Laurence, and which in some measure supplied Quebec with corn and black cattle[†]; with which produce, this island abounded, followed the fate of Cape Breton. Lord Rollo was immediately detached to take possession of it: and the inhabitants, amounting to 4100, submitted to his summons, and brought in their arms. This had been a place of great annoyance to our settlement in Nova Scotia. For, the French neutrals, when driven to distress by the English, found shelter upon this island: and from hence the Indians were encouraged to make sudden irruptions into that colony, and to perpetrate the most inhuman barbarities upon the English subjects: of which Lord Rollo found a most execrable proof in the very palace, or governor's seat, decorated with the scalps of English men, murdered by the savages, hired for that purpose by the French, their patrons and allies.

Expedition
under Ge-
neral Aber-
crombie,
against
Crown
Point.

This important conquest was made, and the strength of the continent of North America was not weakened, nor the provinces exposed to the surprize and ravagements of the French and their savage allies; as we have seen the case in the reduction of the land army and the transportation thereof to Halifax, last year; when an attempt upon Louisbourg was resolved by a council of war to be impracticable, without so much as making

[†] Some farms raised 1200 bushels of corn annually for Quebec market: and Lord Rollo found above 10,000 head of black cattle on this island.

one trial to land upon the coast of Cape Breton. While this expedition was ordered to proceed upon its own bottom, the forces on the continent were commanded to perform their distinct operations against the enemy by land, to drive them from their encroachments at Crown Point, to open a way for an invasion of Canada, in case they could not be brought to equitable terms of peace, and to recover our losses on the Ohio.

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For these purposes we find that Major-General Abercrombie was charged with the chief command and direction of the several operations, and that he himself undertook the expedition against Crown Point^u with the main body of the army, consisting of 7,000 regulars, and 10,000 provincials; with which he embarked on Lake George, in order to reduce the French forts on that lake and on Lake Champlain, which he expected would secure the frontier of the British colonies on that side, and open a passage for any future attempts upon the French settlements.

His forces.

Thus intencioned and enabled to face any army, that could be assembled by the French and their allies, Major-General Abercrombie embarked with his whole force on board 900 batteaus, and 135 whale boats, with provision, ammunition, and artillery; besides several pieces of cannon mounted on rafts to cover their landing, in case of opposition.

Marches
against Ti-
conderoga.

They sailed on the 5th of July in the morning; in the evening they halted at Sabbath Day Point.

^u See page 53, Vol. III.

about

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about 12 miles from the enemy's advanced guard; landed, and made a great number of fires on the shore, to divide the enemy's attention and forces; and early next morning they arrived at the place, where it was proposed to land; and from whence there was a good way leading to, and about one mile off, the French advanced guard. Colonel Bradstreet, with 1500 batteau-men, Major Rogers, with 800 rangers, and Colonel Gage's light infantry, all in whale boats, formed our advanced guard; which was immediately ordered ashore, to reconnoitre the country; which returning with a report, that there was no appearance of an enemy to oppose them, the troops landed with great ease, leisure and safety. The general formed them in four columns, regulars in the centre, and provincials on the flanks: in which order they marched towards the enemy's advanced guard; composed of three battalions of the regiment of Guienne, posted in a logged camp; who fled with such precipitation on the approach of our army, that they had time only to set fire to their tents, and to their baggage, ammunition and provisions: part of which was saved by the quick advance of the English.

A skirmish.

The army, in the foregoing order, continued their march through the wood on the west side, with a design to invest Ticonderoga; a fort built, about two years before, on the narrow passage or communication between Lake George and Champlain. It had all the advantages that nature and art could give it, being defended on three sides by water,

water, which is surrounded by rocks, and on the half of the fourth side by a swamp, and where that fails, there the French had erected an entrenchment and breast-work about nine feet high. It was in the way to Crown Point, and must be taken by our forces before they could march thither. It was in this march, that we had the misfortune to lose Lord Howe, of whom General Abercrombie writes to the secretary of state, "That he was deservedly universally beloved and respected throughout the whole army: that his untimely fall occasioned much grief and consternation; and, That he himself felt it most heavily, and lamented him most sincerely." His lordship, at the head of the right center column, supported by the light infantry, being advanced about two miles, fell in with a French party, supposed to consist of about 500 regulars and Indians, who laid in ambush, or rather thought to hide themselves in that thick and almost impassable wood, and had lost themselves in their retreat from the advanced guard. The skirmish was maintained with great resolution, and the enemy did not give way till our flankers had killed 300, and taken 148 prisoners, amongst whom were five officers and three cadets. But, though we lost only two officers, and not above 18 men killed and wounded, our success cost us very dear, in the death of Lord Howe, who fell the first man in this skirmish, by a musket ball through his breast: of which he died instantly. Had our army been sufficiently provided with guides, this action

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Lord Howe
killed.

Loss of the
enemy.

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swell bro
ballin

Our army
retires.

A detach-
ment to se-
cure the
saw-mills.

action might have become fatal to the enemy, by cutting off their retreat: but they being entirely without guides, our forces were deprived of the advantage of taking post on such grounds, as required for that purpose. The ignorance of the ground was also a great misfortune in the time of action: for, it threw all into confusion: wherever any firing was heard, thither all those, not engaged, immediately hurried, and thereby brought the whole into disorder. So that they could do no more, than keep possession of the ground all that night.

The impression received throughout the army at the loss of Lord Howe; the great fatigue the foldiers had undergone from the time of their embarkation; the want of provisions, which had been dropt in order to lighten themselves in their march; and the want of guides to conduct them through the labyrinth of that wilderness; determined the General to return, on the 7th, to the Landing Place; and they accordingly got thither by eight o'clock in the morning. But at eleven the same day, at noon, Lieutenant-Colonel Bradstreet was detached with the 44th regiment, six companies of the first battalion of Royal Americans, the batteau-men, and a body of Rangers and Provincials, to the amount of about 7000 in all, to take possession of the saw-mills, a post occupied by the enemy, within two miles of Ticonderoga. Bradstreet found that post deserted by the enemy, who had retired, and destroyed the mill and broke down the bridge: but

but he laid a bridge over the river, and was joined that night by the main body of the army, under General Abercrombie, who took up his quarters there that night.

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1758.

The army
advanceth.

Several prisoners were brought into the camp; who agreed in their accounts, that the enemy had eight battalions, some Canadians and colony troops, to the amount of 6000 in all, encamped before their fort: that they were fortifying their camp with strong entrenchments and breast-works; and that they expected hourly to be reinforced by 3000 Canadians, under M. de Levy, recalled from an expedition, he had the command of, to make a diversion on the side of the Mohawk river. This intelligence served to accelerate the motions of our army; and the report of M. Clerk the engineer, who was sent to reconnoitre the strength and situation of the enemy, being in favour of an immediate attack, before the enemy's works could be finished, it was agreed to storm them, that very day.

The situ-
ation and
strength of
the enemy.

The Rangers, light infantry and Provincials, were ordered to march without delay, and to take post in a line, out of cannon shot of the French entrenchments, so as to extend their right to Lake George, and their left to Lake Champlain, that the regular troops, destined to storm the entrenchments, might form on their rear. The piquets were appointed to begin the attack: they to be sustained by the grenadiers; and these by the battalions. The whole were instructed not to throw away their fire, but to march up briskly, rush

Resolution
to attack
them.

A. D.
1758.

March up
to the ene-
my.

rush upon the enemy's fire, and not to give theirs, till they were within the enemy's breast-work. A brave and well designed disposition. All the forces, except a guard left at the Landing Place to cover and guard the batteaus and whale boats, and a provincial regiment left at the saw-mill, was put in motion, and advanced to Ticonderoga. But, instead of imperfect works, they found the entrenchments much stronger than represented; a breast-work six feet thick and between eight and nine feet high, and the ground before it covered with felled trees, with their branches pointed outwards: and the ground was filled, for upwards of 100 yards beyond the breast-work, with large logs, stumps, brushwood, &c. over which it was impossible to advance without great deliberation and difficulty. And the enemy, who were entirely under cover of the breast-work, kept an incessant fire from their swivels and small arms, mowing down our officers and brave men by hundreds. Our men, regardless of every disadvantage and danger, like those, that would conquer or die, were not insensible of the embarrassment of the trees, that retarded their advancing with intrepidity and bravery; but the General, convinced by the loss sustained, and the impracticability of forcing the entrenchments, that it was no longer prudent to remain before it, judged it necessary, for the preservation of so many brave men, and to prevent a total defeat, to make the best retreat possible. Thus after several repeated attacks, which lasted above four hours, under the most disadvantageous

English
defeated,
and retreat.

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tageous circumstances, and with the loss of 461 regulars killed, 29 missing and 1117 wounded; 87 Provincials killed, eight missing, and 239 wounded, including the officers of both corps; he drew his men off^w, and retired to the camp he had occupied the night before, with those that were capable of duty: sending off the wounded to the batteaus, which laid about three miles farther; and next morning followed with the whole army to the same place, and embarked for the camp at Lake George.

This defeat and retreat set the busy and observant world to work; who, according to their connections and apprehensions, were very liberal in their censures and apologies. He certainly is to be commended for drawing off his men from an attack, in which they were exposed entirely to the fire of a covered enemy: and he might be deceived, and yet not culpable, in regard to the report of the enemy's strength, and situation of their camp; which certainly was the case: both in regard to the strength of the works, and to their extent. But who can exculpate a general for

Remarks
on the re-
treat.

^w About three o'clock, as the regulars were retreating, one regiment in the center and the troops on the left threw in a very heavy fire, intending to retreat likewise: but the enemy hoisted English colours, and clubbed their arms, shewing themselves on their breast-work, and beckoning to our men; on which the whole advanced briskly: but when they were come within 15 or 20 yards of the enemy, they struck the English colours, and threw in upon them a most terrible fire, such as they had not yet experienced, which killed multitudes, and obliged them to retire.

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commanding his men to attack such a fortified camp without cannon, when he had a sufficient train with him for the service? Who can commend his care of himself on such a desperate service; not advancing the whole time farther than the mills, two miles from the seat of action; when his presence was necessary with his army? Who can give a solid reason for his flying, when there was no enemy in a condition to pursue: and re-embarking an army of 14,000 effective men, well provided with all necessaries for support, defence, and to return to the attack of Ticonderoga, with a view of success, by a proper use of the force under his command, against an enemy, that was not above 3000 strong, and from whom both a retreat and succours might have been easily cut off? An officer employed in this expedition writes, "Having secured the advanced posts, after the retreat, the remainder of the army might have kept possession of the mills; a post which is, perhaps, as advantageously situated, and as strongly fortified by nature, as any in the universe. But what was most surprizing, the whole army was ordered to embark, 30 men in each batteau, and to retire to Fort William Henry, after having gained and given up as many advantages in four days, as, perhaps, ever happened, since war has been known. The retreat was so precipitate, that great quantities of intrenching tools, several batteau loads of provisions and other things were left behind. All strong indications of an unaccountable panic. Yet the Provincial troops were still in

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in good spirits, and the enemy not a match for us in a regular siege." The regulars had sustained a considerable loss: but that loss was not equal to what had been expected on landing, if the enemy had opposed them there. But continues that officer, "The whole conduct, after Lord Howe's death, was equally madmen like: we were ignorant of the enemy having any breast-works, but that of logs and stumps: we were ordered to storm the trenches, when our field was covered with cannon and stores; and we left the most advantageous ground without being pursued, or having any reason to expect it; and after all, retreated with an army of near 14,000 men from an enemy not above 3000 strong." The fright at the head quarters appears fully from the general's order to the commanding officer at this place, to send to New York, all the cannon, wounded men, &c. What our enemies thought of this affair, may be collected from their account in the Paris gazette*.

Colonel

* Paris, Sept. 23, Published by authority.

The Marquis of Montcalm being informed that the English had assembled, at the bottom of Lake Sacrament, an army of 20,000 militia, and 6000 regular forces, under the command of General Abercrombie, with a design to make themselves masters of Fort Carillon, [Ticonderoga] and to invade Canada, his first step was to take possession of the falls, on the side of that lake, in order to baffle the efforts of the enemy. He remained in this position till the 6th of July, when a body of the English appeared upon the lake. He then crossed over the river from the falls, with all his troops, and came to encamp under Fort Carillon, where he had already marked out his

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1758.

Colonel
Brad-
street's ex-
pedition
against
Frontenac.

Colonel Bradstreet, by a happy turn of thought, proposed a plan to his commander in chief, after this

entrenchments, and sent out different detachments to harrafs the enemy in their landing.

The Marquis, when he arrived at his camp before Carillon, had only 2,800 French, with 450 of the colony troops,

On the 7th, in the morning, the whole army was employed in throwing up entrenchments, and making barricades of stumps of trees before them. The same day, in the evening, to our great joy, there arrived 400 chosen men, under the command of the chevalier de Levi. The Marquis committed the defence of the right wing to the Chevalier, that of the left to M. de Bourlamaque, and reserved to himself the command of the center, that he might be the better able to give his orders. The army lay all night upon their arms.

On the 8th, at break of day, the generale was beat, that the troops might know their posts. After this motion, the army returned to work upon the entrenchments. About ten in the morning the enemy's light troops appeared on the other side of the river, and made a great fire, but at such a distance that we continued our work without returning it. About half an hour after twelve their army came down upon us, and all our troops were instantly at their posts with their arms. Our left was first attacked by two columns; the center was at the same time attacked by a third column, and a fourth attacked our right. As the colony troops and the Canadians were not attacked, they came out of their trenches, and took the column in flank that attacked our right, falling upon them with great courage and fury. About five o'clock the column which attacked the center, and that which attacked the right, fell upon the saliant angle of the trenches, where our danger became very great; but it was timely assisted, and the enemy met with a resistance that damped their ardour.

About six o'clock, the two columns of the right abandoned their attack, and came to make another attempt towards the saliant angle and the center, and afterwards on the left, but they

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this retreat, to employ part of the troops immediately against Cadaraque or Fort Frontenac; and was allowed to carry that expedition into execution with a detachment of 3103 men, consisting of 154 regulars, 2491 provincials, 27 of the royal regiment of artillery, 61 rangers, 300 batteauxmen, and 70 Indians. The situation of this fort on the north of the river St. Laurence, just where it takes its origin from Lake Ontario, was very advantageous and of great importance to our enemies. It commanded the mouth of the river of St. Laurence, in a great measure, and it was employed as a magazine to supply the forts to the southward. For this reason the government in Old France had stocked this fort with 60 pieces of cannon, and sixteen small mortars: but the they were every where repulsed. Between six and seven their army made their retreat, favoured by the fire of their light troops, which lasted till night. The darkness of the night, the fatigue of our troops, and the smallness of our number, the strength of the enemy, who were still greatly superior to us, and the nature of the ground, would not permit us to pursue them. We expected them to return to the attack next day, but they had abandoned the Falls and the Carrying Place; and the Chevalier de Levi, who was sent out to reconnoitre, saw no body.

We reckon the loss of the enemy, according to the report of the prisoners, to be about 4000 killed and wounded, among whom are several officers of distinction. Lord Howe and Major General Spittall, are among the slain. Five hundred Indians, who were in the English army, remained behind the whole time, and would not engage in the action. On our side there were 12 officers, and 92 soldiers, killed in the field of battle; and 25 officers, with 248 soldiers, wounded.

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fortifications were both inconsiderable and badly contrived. At this juncture it was stored with an immense quantity of provisions and ammunition^y for the use of the French forces detached against Brigadier Forbes; for their western garrisons, and the army sent under M. de Levi to the Mohawk river, and with merchandize for their Indian allies.

Colonel Bradstreet having penetrated to the side of Lake Onterio, he embarked his men in sloops and batteaus provided for that purpose, and landed without opposition within a mile of Fort Frontenac, on the 25th of August. This visit was so little expected, that the garrison, consisting of 110 men, besides a few women, children and Indians, between seven and eight in the morning, of the 27th, surrendered prisoners of war. By which we became masters of all the contents above-mentioned, and of nine ships, from eight to 18 guns, which were all the French had upon the lake. Colonel Bradstreet brought two of the ships to Oswego, one richly laden: but he burnt and destroyed the others, together with all the fort, artillery, stores, &c. agreeable to his instructions. Upon which the prisoners did not scruple to say, That their troops to the southward, and their westward garrisons would suffer greatly, if not be entirely starved, for want of the provisions, and vessels, to bring them home from Niagara.

Brigadier
Forbes's
expedition
against
du Quesne.

The expedition against Fort du Quesne, and the reduction of the Ohio was committed to Bri-

^y Valued at 800,000 livres.

gadier

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gadier Forbes. His rendezvous was at Philadelphia^z, from whence he marched with the last division of his forces on the 30th day of June, for the river Ohio. A march pregnant with the greatest difficulties and discouragements; if we consider the length of the way only; but if we take the want of military roads, the howling wildernesses, that were almost impenetrable, the dangerous morasses and the rugged mountains, into the account, nothing but love, a love for our country, which surmounts and despises all obstacles and opposition, could have animated this army to proceed with an alacrity and courage, that was not to be satisfied with any thing less than victory and conquest.

His difficult march.

^z By a letter from New York, dated July 20, it appears, that when Brigadier-General Forbes came to Philadelphia, about the middle of April last, he found himself a general without forces, for a considerable time. The greatest part of the provincials, that were to compose his army, were not raised. The Highlanders from South-Carolina, did not arrive till about the 7th of June, nor his stores and artillery from England till the 14th of the same month. Besides this, the procuring the large number of waggons necessary for this expedition, where there is no water carriage, occasioned great delays. Yet all these difficulties are at last surmounted, and the general now finds himself at the head of a fine army, in high spirits, the rear of which is by this time advanced upwards of 100 miles on their march. He has likewise a very considerable body of Indians with him, and we have reason to expect all possible success from his known valour, vigilance, and experience. No general was ever more beloved by the men under his command.

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His pru-
dent con-
duct.

The brigadier had a spacious field to display his military talents. In which there had been so many miscarriages: and where the enemy had fastened themselves by every means to improve the natural strength of the country. But the failings of others made him more cautious, more circumspect. He left nothing, or as little as possible, to chance. He, with amazing diligence, secured provisions and carriages; in whose deficiency had been laid the root of Braddock's unfortunate march. He, with a becoming jealousy of his own strength, should he expose it to the lurking invisible enemy, secreted in thick woods, or posted at narrow defiles, extended his scouting parties, who beat the bushes and ferreted the savage enemy; and he formed new roads, and fortified his camps: without which precautions he must have suffered greatly or rather have been forced to return with disgrace, by the frequent skirmishes and ambuscades of the enemy's Indian allies, who attempted to cut them off, and did harass them under this most judicious disposition and cautious march of our army, thro' a prodigious tract of an unknown desert.

In this manner Brigadier Forbes arrived at Ray's town, 90 miles east of Fort du Quesne; where he halted with the main body of the army, and detached 2000 men, under Colonel Fouquet, to Lyal-Henning, with orders to secure that post, and to reconnoitre the fort and outworks of Fort du Quesne. Fouquet obeyed his orders: secured the post, and detached Major Grant, with 800 men only, to reconnoitre the object of their operations,

rations, which was at the distance of 40 miles farther. A. D.
1758.

As soon as the enemy saw this party within their power, being informed by their scouts, that it advanced without any support, and that their nearest retreat was to Lyal-Henning, a tract of 40 miles back; a body of troops sufficient to surround them marched out to give them battle, or to cut off their retreat. The English stood their ground with a firmness and bravery worthy of their country. They received the fire of the enemy, and with bayonets fixed, closed and did great execution. But after three hours severe action against great odds, and the number of the enemy encreasing, by reinforcements from the garrison, having lost their commander, Major Grant, who was carried prisoner to Fort du Quesne, and about 300 men, including nineteen officers, killed or taken, these brave fellows were thrown into disorder, and obliged to fly back to Lyal-Henning.

Reconnoitring party surprised.

Thus one indiscreet motion had well nigh disconcerted all the prudential steps, by which Brigadier Forbes had surmounted the hazards and dangers of a long and almost impracticable march. If Fort du Quesne, and the territory under its dependance, was judged to require the whole force under Brigadier Forbes to reduce it; what could induce Fouquet to detach only 800 men to the distance of forty miles, without any provision to sustain them in case of an attack; in a country, of which they were entirely ignorant, and in possession of, and garrisoned by, the enemy?

Remarks.

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Fort Du
Quesne de-
serted.

Changed
to PITTs-
BURG.

my? In which circumstances it was morally impossible for that detachment ever to return with any report, should they advance within the power of the enemy; and without a close inspection, their orders could not be executed. But, when the brigadier was informed of this loss, it served rather to sharpen his resentment and vigour. He suffered no more detachments to be cut off. He marched with his whole army with such expedition, that his sudden and powerful appearance struck the French garrison of Fort du Quesne with a panic: so that they never trusted their safety to the event of a siege, but dismantled the fort, and withdrew, some by boats, others by land, to their forts and settlements on the Mississippi, on the 24th day of November: and, next day, Brigadier Forbes entered and took possession; and having repaired the fort, the contention for which, and the circumjacent lands, had kindled up the present war, and placed in it a garrison of provincials; the troops and officers, emulated by their success, and glorying in the minister, who planned their operations in so wise and effectual a manner, unanimously changed the name of the fort, and with a propriety and compliment, which may easily occur to the reader, gave it the name of PITT'S-BURG. And Brigadier-General Forbes having, by his advantages in several skirmishes, convinced the native Indians, that all their attempts upon his advanced posts, in order to cut off his communication, were vain, and to no purpose, and that it was their interest to accept of

a neutra-

a neutrality; he found it no very difficult matter to draw them from the French, and even to reconcile them, in a manner, to his Majesty's government. Which was the best security of that fine, rich country, against any future attempts to be made by France for its recovery.

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1758.

Having settled every thing to his desire, and, for the interest of his country, he left a garrison in PITT'S-BURG, well appointed and provided against any force of the enemy in those quarters: and, for their better content, and for the defence of Pensilvania, he erected a block-house at Lyal-Henning. His intention was to add some other works to Pittsburg; but his health was so much impaired, by the fatigues of this campaign, that he was obliged to hasten back to Philadelphia, where he died soon after in the 49th year of his age, greatly lamented by all ranks of men, and may justly be acknowledged a public loss to his country.

Brigadier
Forbes re-
turns.

Thus ended the first campaign in North Ame-rica, under the direction of Mr. PITT; which struck so effectually at the root of the French power and interest in the new world, that they never after were able to make any considerable effort to maintain their encroachments, and must have been entirely driven to seek for safety within their provinces of Canada and Louisiana, had General Abercrombie executed his part of the grand operations agreeable to his instructions, and to the strength of the army under his immediate command. How the nation received the news

Remarks.

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news of these advantages, gained by the vigorous measures under the new minister, will be best described by that universal rejoicing throughout this kingdom, and by those voluntary and unanimous addresses to his Majesty on the joyful occasion, from every incorporate and respectable body, led up to the throne by the most dutiful address of the city of London, whose sentiments of the importance of their acquisitions, the wisdom of the ministry and bravery of the fleets and armies, as they were adopted and confirmed by the rest of their fellow-subjects, will be best conveyed to posterity in their own words, which were thus expressed upon the taking of Louisbourg, &c.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

AMIDST the joyful acclamations of your faithful people, permit us, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons, of the city of London, in common-council assembled, humbly to congratulate your Majesty on the success of your arms, in the conquest of the important fortress of Louisbourg, the reduction of the island of Cape Breton and St. John, and the blow there given to a considerable part of the French navy.

An event so truly glorious to your Majesty, so important to the colonies, trade and navigation of Great Britain, and so fatal to the commercial views and naval power of France, affords a reasonable prospect of the recovery of all our rights and possessions in America, so unjustly invaded,
and

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and in a great measure answers the hopes we formed, when we beheld the French power weakened on the coast of Africa, their ships destroyed in their ports at home, and the terror thereby spread over all their coasts.

May these valuable acquisitions, so gloriously obtained, ever continue a part of the British Empire, as an effectual check to the perfidy and ambition of a nation, whose repeated insults and usurpations obliged your Majesty to enter into this just and necessary war: and may these instances of the wisdom of your Majesty's councils, of the conduct and resolution of your commanders, and of the intrepidity of your fleets and armies, convince the world of the innate strength and resources of your kingdoms, and dispose your Majesty's enemies to yield to a safe and honourable peace.

In all events, we shall most chearfully contribute, to the utmost of our power, towards supporting your Majesty, in the vigorous prosecution of measures *so nobly designed, and so wisely directed.*

The attempt upon Goree, on the coast of Africa, had miscarried, as it was apprehended, for want of sufficient strength, after the taking of Senegal. But the necessity there was to reduce that fortress, in order to complete the ruin of the French trade on the coast of Africa, and therewith to put the last and finishing hand to the destruction of those colonies, which our enemies could not cultivate without black slaves; to deprive them of every
post,

Expedition
against Go-
ree.

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1758.

post, from whence they might either carry on a clandestine commerce with the Africans, or issue out to disturb our navigation on that coast in general, or to Senegal in particular; which could never be safe and undisturbed, while Goree continued in the hands of the French; suggested an immediate effort, this same summer, to drive the enemy from that strong-hold.

Goree
island de-
scribed.

Goree ^a is a small narrow island ^b near Cape Verd in Africa, W. long. 17. 40. lat. 15. surrounded by rocks, and inaccessible, except at a little creek, a natural and most safe harbour, about 20 fathoms broad and 60 long, situate E. N. E. and inclosed with two points of sand; one pretty high, called the Burial-ground-point; the other much lower, with a sand-bank in front, over which the sea beats with such violence, as to be seen at a great distance. Here is good anchorage for ships; as also round the whole island: and between it and the main land ships may ride safe from the greatest surges.—This island has changed masters several times. The first account of it was in the possession of the Dutch, who, in the year 1617, obtained a grant of it from Biram, King of Cape Verd, and fortified it with a castle on a high land, very steep on all sides, which they named Nassau-hill, on the north side; and with another fort, called Fort Orange, built in the creek above-mentioned, to protect their warehouses. In 1663 it was conquered by the Eng-

^a Or *Goeree* Dutch, a good road for shipping.

^b The sixth part of a league in length.

lish,

lish, under the command of Commodore Holmes: but was soon after retaken by De Ruyter, the Dutch admiral. In 1677 it fell into the hands of the French, under the command of Count d'Etrees, who demolished the forts. But the French East India company, being made sensible of its advantageous situation for the purposes of their trade, obtained a grant thereof from the French King, rebuilt the forts and continued in possession till this year. It is but small, and till very lately, that M. de St. Jean, director of the island, discovered fresh springs, it was without either wood or water, but what was preserved in cisterns. However, its situation, harbour and good anchoring, like that of St. Helena, render it very considerable for those nations, who have settlements on the coast of Africa, or any navigation and trade in those seas. Though it is in the torrid zone the air is cool and temperate, almost the whole year; owing to the equality of days and nights, and alternate breezes from the sea and land. And it is so near the continent, that Cape Verd, and the neighbouring promontaries, may be seen from the north side.

The squadron ordered for this service consisted of the Prince Edward, the Nassau, the Dunkirk, the Torbay, the Fougueux, and the Firedrake and Furnace bombs.—There were also 600 soldiers. Commodore Keppel had the command in chief.

It was the 24th of December before this armament reached the place of their destination. The commodore came to an anchor, with all his ships,
in

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in the road of Goree, about three o'clock, the island bearing S. W. by S. about four miles, and in eighteen fathom water. The Saltash was ordered to bear down to a bay between point Goree and point Barnabas, in order to the more speedy and convenient landing of the troops, should there be any occasion for them. But it was the 28th before it was thought convenient to attack the island. When, at four in the morning, all the flat-bottomed boats were sent on board the transports, for disembarking the troops, and all of them were in those boats by nine o'clock. During which time the ships of war also finished their preparations; the signal for weighing anchor having been given at eight o'clock.

The west side was the strongest; but that being the lee-side, it was resolved to form the attack on this side, lest the ships cables, being cut by a chain-shot, or any other accident, the ship or ships might put out to sea without any danger, and beating to windward renew the action; for such an accident on the east side might have brought a ship immediately ashore. Another resolution settled the manner of their going down to the assault. A bomb was ordered to precede, covered by the Prince Edward from the fire of the enemy, and to anchor abreast of a small Lunette-battery *en barbet*, a little below the citadel on the north. The eldest captain, Mr. Sayer, in the Nassau, was ordered to lead the line of battle on the right, anchoring abreast of St. Peter's battery of five guns: the Dunkirk followed, in order to
bring

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bring up a-breast of a battery to the northward of the former; which battery was not finished, and not an embrasure at that time opened. The commodore, in the Torbay, followed him, taking for his part the west point battery of five guns, and the west corner of St. Francis's Fort, of four smaller guns. Captain Knight, in the Fougueux, stationed second on the left, bringing up the rear (having directions, at the same time, to cover the other bomb on his starboard quarter) had allotted to his share the mortar-battery; so called from two large mortars, covered by that battery.

The moment the first ship had dropt her anchor from her stern, she was ordered to hoist a pendant at her mizen peak, to acquaint the next ship that she had brought up. Which signal was to be repeated by each ship, as she should take her station; and not a gun to be fired till each captain had his ship a-breast of his station, and moored both a-head and stern. Mr. Keppel concluded these instructions with his good wishes for their success, and desired they would get on board their respective ships as fast as possible, and lead on.

The Prince Edward and Firedrake bomb bore down about nine towards the island; and in ten minutes time the Firedrake began the action, by throwing a shell. Which was returned in a moment by the enemy, from both their forts and batteries. Their second shot carried away the Prince Edward's flag-staff, and set fire to an arms-chest,

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which blowing up killed a marine. This threw the Prince Edward into a little stagnation ; which encouraged the French, who finding the ship did not return their fire, levelled some of their pieces so well, that several were wounded, and other considerable damage was done, before matters were got to rights. Lieutenant West had one of his hips torn away and bruised in a shocking manner, by an iron bolt driven out of the timber by a ball : and a private sailor, stationed in the fore-top, had a leg shot off. But with a heart, like a lion, he let himself down, hand under hand, by a rope, saying, as he descended,—*That he should not have been sorry at the accident, had he but done his duty : but that it gave him pain to think, that he should die without having killed an enemy.*

The commodore, who diligently attended to every incident, observing that the Firedrake over-charged her mortars (all her shells falling vastly beyond the island to the south) and which they on board, in the midst of so much smoke, could not discern, he sent his boat on board the Furnace, with orders, “ That as they saw the error of the other, in over-charging the mortars, they would avoid that extreme ; and that, as the enemy seemed bent upon sinking the Prince Edward and Firedrake, he desired they would, at the distance they then were, begin their fire ; and endeavour, as much as possible, to draw part of the enemy’s attention from their suffering friends.” The Furnace, pursuant to that order, bore immediately close under the Fougueux’s stern, and getting
under

under her larboard-quarter, began to fire with good success. The commodore then ordered the Nassau to bear away to the relief of the Prince Edward: which Captain Sayer endeavoured to do, but he was so unfortunate, that from the enemy's first fire, to the Nassau's taking their attention from the Prince Edward, his ship was wearing almost thirty minutes.

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Another advantage to the enemy was the lulling of the wind, which dropt, as the heat of the day came on; so that the commodore's ship the Torbay, and the Fougueux, which were both wearing down to the seat of action, were retarded a good deal; especially the Fougueux, which was stopt by the Furnace running athwart his lee-bow, in his course to the Torbay; the commodore having made a signal for his coming on board.

The commodore brought up a-breast the angles of both the west point battery and St. Francis's fort, with so much judgment, that when he was moored, the enemy could not bring a gun from thence to bear upon him. There could nothing reach him with advantage, but two guns from St. Peter's, and three from a small lunette on the hill, in the way to St. Michael's; and their firing was almost silenced by the other ships. So that the Torbay had a battery to attack almost deserted, and without scarce any opposition.—Though indeed, had the enemy been capable to hold an argument with the commodore's ship, the fire from the Torbay was so terrible, so near, and so well aimed, that none but desperadoes or mad-men

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would have stood it.—The ship was in one continued blaze of fire, and that part of the island itself, upon which she lay, was darkened by a cloud of smoak and earth, to a wonderful degree; that the very foundations of the island itself seemed to be razed.

French soldiers driven from their quarters.

The flag struck.

A parley.

It was impossible for the French soldiers to stand at their quarters. They could not be kept longer against a fire, that was not to be withstood. But when the director was informed thereof, his command was, *Every man to his quarters upon pain of death.* However, the governor was prevailed upon to strike his flag. The commodore ordered a lieutenant, attended by his secretary, to wait upon the governor on the island; who coming to the beach asked them, before they quitted their boat, *On what terms the honourable Mr. Keppel proposed he should surrender?*—This way of proceeding, after the flag was struck, surprized them: and they asked him then, *Have not you struck your flag?* He answered, *No: for he had intended thereby no more than a signal for a parley:* and being told, That the commodore insisted on his surrendering at discretion; he replied, *I am sufficiently prepared, and know how to defend myself; if the French troops shall not be allowed to march out with the honours of war.* The lieutenant having remonstrated the impossibility of a defence against the ships, as already moored, and given him the signal of one gun to be fired over the island, by the commodore, for the renewing of hostili-

hostilities, he and the secretary returned on board the Torbay. A. D. 1758.

The commodore, informed of the Frenchman's behaviour and proposal, ordered a signal gun, as promised by the lieutenant, to be fired over the island; which was followed with his whole broadside, and some guns from the other ships, that were ready: but before the fire could be renewed in its full vigour, the governor not being able to maintain his authority over the soldiers, who fled from their quarters, dropt the regimental colours over the walls, as a signal of surrendering at discretion; and the commodore sent a party of marines ashore, who took possession of the island; hoisted British colours on Fort St. Michael's, and finished the ceremony of this conquest, at the foot of the flag-staff, with three huzzas, from the battlements of the citadel. Hostilities renewed.
The governor surrenders at discretion.

During the whole time of this attack Lieutenant Colonel Worge, who had the command of the soldiery, had his troops embarked in flat-bottomed boats, as mentioned above, disposed, and ready, at a proper distance, with the transports, to attempt a descent, when it should have been found requisite and practicable.

The state of the island of Goree, at this time, as transmitted by Commodore Keppel to the Right Honourable WILLIAM PITT, makes the number of prisoners of war 300; besides the blacks, who were very numerous. Their ordnance consisted of 38 twenty-four pounders, and one broke; 43 eighteen pounders, and one broke; 4 twelve pounders; State of the island when taken.

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pounders ; 5 six pounders ; 1 four pounder ; 2 three pounders ; 11 swivels ; 1 ten inch mortar ; all iron : 1 twelve pounder ; 2 mortars, mounted on beds, thirteen inches ; 1 ten inches, all brass : 100 barrels of powder : a great number of shells, filled and empty ; a great quantity of shot of different sizes : a great quantity of cannon cartridges filled, and provisions of all species for 400 men for four months.

Affairs of
the East
Indies.

French re-
inforce-
ment from
Europe un-
der M.
Lally.

Block up
Fort St.
David.

Two Eng-
lish men of
war burnt.

Our arms on the coast of Coromandel were not altogether so prosperous. The French continued in a state of inactivity, after the taking of Chettoput^c. This appeared somewhat mysterious to our settlements in those parts. But they were directed, from their superiors, to wait and prepare for the arrival of General Lally and a strong squadron, with supplies of men, &c. sent from Old France ; without which it would have been impossible for them to act with any view of success against the English, supported by a fleet, in those seas. This squadron consisted of eleven sail, commanded by M. D'Aché, and appeared off Fort St. David, on the 28th of April, 1758. Two of them proceeded with Mr. Lally to Pondicherry ; seven anchored in the road of Fort St. David ; and two kept to the eastward. By which disposition the French admiral blocked up the Bridgewater and Triton, his Majesty's ships, then lying in the road ; which were obliged to run ashore, to save the crews and stores^d. These French

^c See page 367. Vol. II.

^d They burnt their ships, and the men retired to the fort.



S^R. GEORGE POCKOCK, Kn^t.
Admiral of the Blue Squadron.



GEORGE M. POOL R. R.

A Journal of the Life of George M. Pool

ships had a considerable body of troops on board, ready to land and join a large detachment from Pondicherry, which appeared next morning, within the district of Fort St. David; but their junction, and the debarkation of the troops, was prevented by the sudden and unexpected appearance of the English fleet to the southward, as the French were preparing to debark.

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The English admiral had advice of the French squadron's arrival in those seas; and being reinforced in Madras road on the 24th of March, with the Newcastle, Weymouth, Yarmouth and Elizabeth, he hoisted his flag on board the Yarmouth, and sailed, on the 17th of April, in quest of the enemy. His intention was to get to windward of Fort St. David with

Admiral Pocock sails in quest of the French fleet at Fort St. David's.

	Guns.	Men.	Officers.	
The Yarmouth	64	540	{	Admiral Pocock
				Capt. Harrison
Elizabeth	64	495	{	Commodore Stevens
				Capt. Kemperfelt
Cumberland	66	520		Brereton
Weymouth	60	420		Nich. Vincent
Tyger	60	400		Tho. Latham
Newcastle	50	350		George Legge
Salisbury	50	300		Jn. Somerset

His strength.

With the Queenborough and Protector store-ships.

This squadron made the height of Negapatam on the 28th at noon, and running down, next morning, to Fort St. David, the admiral, at half an hour past nine, descried seven ships in that road, getting under sail, and two cruising in the

Comes in fight.

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1758.

The
French fly.

offing. Admiral Pocock threw out his signals; which not being answered, and the seven ships standing off shore to the east, he judged them to be enemies, and accordingly, at half past ten, made the signal for a general chase; but before noon they were obliged to shorten sail.

The seven French ships being come up with the two in the offing, about noon, formed the line of battle a-head, with the starboard-tacks on board, and stood off shore to the eastward, with the wind about south. This obliged Admiral Pocock to make the signal for his ships to form the line a-head, which was repeated by the Queenborough, and every ship got into its station, as fast as possible, within random shot of the enemy, a little before three o'clock; though some of them were, at that time, four or five miles a-stern^e.

Lie too.

The enemy's squadron, consisting of eight two-deck ships and a frigate, laid too under their topsails, about two miles to leeward: and their admiral's ship the Zodiaque was particularly distinguished by a cornette at the mizentop-mast head. Admiral Pocock bore down upon M. D'Aché, keeping a little a-head of him: and though obliged to receive the fire of several ships, by the way, he did not throw out the signal for engaging, till he came within half musket shot of the

^e The admiral, by signal, called the Queenborough within hail to him, and ordered, that all her marines should be sent on board the Cumberland, and twenty seamen on board the Tyger.

Zodia-

Zodiaque: soon after he made a signal for a closer engagement. The ships in the van obeyed^f. A. D. 1758.

And at half an hour past four he made particular signals to the Cumberland, Newcastle and Weymouth to sail up and engage close; because the English signal to engage.

French rear had drawn up pretty close to their admiral. But M. D'Aché would not give them

time to try their courage, he broke the line and bore away under the lee of the ships a-head of him: the frigate at the same time fired a broadside at the Yarmouth, and made sail after him.

The other French ships made sail up along side of the Yarmouth, in succession to the rear of their line. Our admiral, at twelve minutes past four,

made signals for the Cumberland, Newcastle and Weymouth to come up; and at four minutes after,

(all the French ships having shot a-head of him, after their admiral, and the Yarmouth's French fly again.

masts, sails and rigging, being so much disabled, that she could not keep up with them, after making all the sail possible, the sternmost ships of the enemy then on her bow) he sent Mr. Fenshaw, midshipman, to signify the admiral's orders for the ships a-stern to make all the sail they

^f The admiral's journal specifies, That at seven minutes past three, observing some ships too wide of the enemy, the signal was made for a close engagement, which was complied with by the ships a-head of the Cumberland.—We could not observe that the Newcastle or Weymouth came properly into action with the ships opposite to them the whole time, which gave the French ships, a-stern of their admiral, an opportunity of lying on the admiral's quarter, who sometimes had three ships on his at once, and never less than two.

could,

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1758.

could, and go a-head, and engage the first ships they could come up with. At thirty-three minutes past four all the French squadron bore away; and at twelve minutes before five our ships a-stern being almost up with the Yarmouth, the admiral hauled down the signal for the line; and made the signal, for all the squadron to chase the enemy.

Reinforced.

About half past five the enemy were joined by two ships about four miles to leeward, hauled their wind and stood to the westward, with their larboard tacks on board^s. Our fleet was greatly delayed in their chase by the damage of the Yarmouth, Elizabeth, Tyger and Salisbury, in their masts, yards, sails and rigging, which prevented their keeping up with the rest, that had not suffered in the rear. This inability and the approach of the night, made it adviseable for the Admiral to haul close upon a-wind, and to make a signal to leave off chase: and he stood to the south-west, to keep to windward of the enemy, that, if possible, he might prevent them weathering him in the night, and renew the engagement in the morning. For this purpose the Queenborough was ordered a-head to watch their motions; and she

^s Here you have the strength of the French fleet: viz. The Zodiaque and Bien-Aime of 74 guns; the Vengeance and St. Louis of 64 guns; the Duc d'Orleans and the Duc de Bourgogne of 60 guns; the Conde and the Moras of 50 guns; and the Sylphide frigate of 36 guns, all engaged. The two that joined them, after their flight, were the Compte de Provence of 74 guns, and the Diligent of 24 guns; which had landed M. Lally at Pondicherry.

work'd

work'd up after them till six in the morning, on the first day of May; but with so little effect or hopes to come up with them, who had received little or no damage in their rigging, that she left off the chase, and came to anchor about three leagues to the southward of Sadrafs, where he received information from the governor, that the *Bien-Aime*, of 74 guns, had been so damaged in the late action, that she was run ashore, and that the rest of the French squadron was at anchor a little south of Alamparvey, seven leagues west by north from Sadrafs.

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1758.

In this action the French lost 600 men killed, and had many wounded. Whereas our loss amounted only to 29 killed and 30 wounded. Because our fire was aimed at the hull; by which the ship and men suffer most. The French fire chiefly at the rigging, by which the men and hull escape destruction.

The French squadron retreated to Pondicherry: but Admiral Pocock, as soon as he had finished his masts, repaired his most material damages, and taken on board a hundred and twenty recovered men from the hospital, and about 80 *Lascars* from the governor of Madrafs, put to sea, and endeavoured all in his power to get up to Fort St. David's, which was then besieged by the French. But that laudable and necessary service was prevented by various accidents, strong westerly winds, and particularly by the current running strong to the northward. So that he was obliged to come to an anchor at Alamparvey on the 26th

Retreat to
Pondicherry.
Admiral
Pocock re-
fits and
sails again.

of

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1758.

of May. He weighed again, and on the 30th of June appeared off Pondicherry.

Gets fight
of the
French
fleet.

On the 1st of June, in the morning, the French squadron, consisting of ten sail, weighed and stood out of the road: which carrying the countenance of a resolution to engage him, Admiral Pocock, who laid considerably to leeward, prepared to receive them. But they kept close to the wind and plyed away from him with so much diligence, that it was not possible to come up with them; but on the contrary, the English lost way by strong currents, want of wind, and the bad failing of the Cumberland.

The
French
march
against
Fort St.
David.

The
enemy's
strength.

On the 6th of the same month, the Admiral received advice from Fort St. George, that Fort St. David had surrendered to the French. For, tho' M. d'Aché was obliged to retreat out of the road on the very day resolved upon to land his troops, to be employed in the attack of Fort St. David by sea and land, the armament from Pondicherry did not retreat. It consisted of 3,500 Europeans: their vanguard composed of the French horse, 500 of the regiment of Lorraine, and about 200 of the company's troops, a number of Sepoys and artillery men, with eight pieces of cannon, entered the district of Fort St. David, on the 29th of April: they plundered and destroyed all that opposed them; obliged Cuddalore to surrender on the 3d of May, with permission for the garrison to retreat with their arms to Fort St. David. Then they undertook the siege of Fort St. David. They assembled all their force and began to fire upon it from

from Cuddalore on the 16th, and with five mortars from the New Town on the 17th; on the 26th a battery of seven guns and five mortars was opened at the distance of between eight and 900 yards west, another of nine guns and three mortars between seven and 800 yards north, and another of four guns to the north east, at about the same distance.

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1758.

Attack
Fort St.
David.

The place was very badly fortified, and much worse defended: no part was bomb proof, so that the shells did great damage and made great slaughter. The Lascars, Sepoys, and most of the artificers, were so dispirited by the suddenness of the French motions, that they left the town before the surrender of Cuddalore. The garrison was so much weakened by the desertion of the black forces, that it divided their forces too much to defend the out-posts, which was imprudently attempted: and the European soldiers, having got access to the magazines of arrack and other strong liquors, they were seldom in a condition to do their duty.

The weak-
ness of the
place.

Misbeha-
viour of
the garri-
son.

As to the fortifications; though there was no breach made, there were 30 guns and carriages dismounted and disabled, and many of the parapets, platforms, and other works, were destroyed by the shot and shells. The tanks or reservoirs of water, except those in the covered way, were rendered unfit for use by the bombardment: and what completed their misfortune, their ammunition, which had been fired away inconsiderately,

Ammuni-
tion wast-
ed.

before

A. D.

1758.

Capitu-
lates.

before the enemy began to make their approaches, was grown short.

Major Polier, having been truly informed of the untenable state of the place, and lost all hopes of relief from the fleet, requested a council of war: in which it was unanimously agreed, to surrender by capitulation; whose principal articles granted the honours of war to the garrison; that they should be exchanged; that they should have leave to carry with them their baggage and other moveable effects belonging to their houses; that care should be taken of the sick and wounded; that commissaries should be appointed and remain to deliver up the magazines, &c. and that deserters should be pardoned, upon condition of returning to their colours.

Enquiry
into the
conduct of
the com-
mander in
chief.

The government of Madras was justly alarmed at this loss: and as a much more resolute and obstinate defence had been expected, an enquiry was ordered at Madras to examine into the conduct of the officers, and the causes of the surrender of Fort St. David. This court of enquiry was composed of Lieutenant Colonel Draper, and the Majors Brereton and Caillaud.

His de-
fence.

Major Polier was much esteemed by the company, and had served them on several occasions with reputation and conduct: but he was too opinionated, suspicious, very hasty and passionate; which often injured the service. He was summoned before this court, and, in his defence, urged the weakness of the garrison, the want of ammunition and scarcity of water; the ruinous state of the upper

upper works and the dismounting of the ~~guns~~.
 But the officers, who composed this court of en-
 quiry, though they commended the personal be-
 haviour of Major Polier, they impeached his
 judgment for defending the out-posts, and thereby
 weakening his garrison, which consisted of no
 more than 200 Europeans, 80 invalids and about
 30 of the artillery: they were of opinion that the
 town might have held out much longer; and that
 the articles of capitulation were shameful, because
 the enemy were not masters of the outward cover-
 ed way; had made no breach, and had a wet
 ditch to fill up and pass, before the town could be
 assaulted.

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1758.

Opinion of
the court.

M. Lally, who was sent from Europe, to com-
 mand in chief for the King of France and the
 French East India company, ordered the works to
 be blown up, and reduced the fortifications to a
 heap of ruins. He extended his power to the
 wanton destruction of villas, and the fine buildings
 in the adjacent country. But the French after-
 wards paid dear for this barbarity. The country
 people, by cutting off supplies for the army, had
 it in their power to take revenge: and they carried
 their resentment into such force, that the French
 were almost exhausted by famine at the siege of
 Tanjore.

Works
blown up.

French
barbarity.

Admiral Pocock, informed of this loss, made
 the best of his way to Madras: and having there
 supplied his squadron with water and other neces-
 saries, he sailed again on the 25th of July in quest
 of the French squadron. On the 26th, coming
 to

Admiral
Pocock
sails again
in quest
of the
French.

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1758.

to an anchor off Alamparvey, sent his boats armed to take, sink, or burn, a snow and seven chalingas, close under the fort. The snow was loaded with fire wood for Pondicherry; the chelingas had been sent from Pondicherry with ordnance, stores, and cannon; but were unloaded. They burnt the chelingas, and brought off the snow.

Strength of
the Eng-
lish.

The English fleet consisted of no more than seven ships, the same, as were engaged in the last action; but some of them under new commanders^s.

Strength of
the French
fleet.

With these the admiral got up, on the 27th in the evening, within three leagues of Pondicherry road, where the French fleet, that consisted of eight ships of the line and a frigate, was at anchor.

Chased by
the Eng-
lish.

But M. d'Aché did not seem yet in a temper to fight. He, by 10 o'clock the next morning, got under sail, and taking the advantage of the land-breeze, he wronged the English fleet, that waited for him. Admiral Pocock made the signal to chase: but his ships could not get to windward: and, without that, there was no bringing on an engagement. However, having chased them almost to Porto Novo, where he lost sight of them, he, on the 30th, discovered and ran ashore, about two leagues to the north of that port, a ship laden

^s The admiral, displeased at the behaviour of some of his captains in the engagement, related on page 279 to 283, ordered a court-martial, on his return to Madras, to enquire into their conduct. By which court, Captain Nicholas Vincent was dismissed from the command of the Weymouth; Captain George Legge, of the Newcastle, was cashiered from his Majesty's service; and Captain William Brereton was sentenced to loose one year's rank as a post captain.

with ordnance and stores for Pondicherry, and set her on fire: keeping the coast to Tranquebar, Admiral Pocock regained sight of the French squadron, on the 1st of August: and next day at one o'clock it appeared full in sight: but their admiral, by assuming the appearance of courage, and trifling away time, by forming the line of battle, at a considerable distance; now edging down; then hauling upon a wind, and practising every method to establish an opinion of an intention to engage, till half an hour past six, (when they hoisted their topsails, set their courses, hauled close upon a wind, stood to the south east,) baffled all the diligence, with which the English had endeavoured to draw on an engagement; for next morning, none of them were to be seen^h. However

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1758.

Gets sight
of the
French.

^h It may be a matter of curiosity to read the journal of this day's work; wherein the admiral's judgment, and the enemy's craft will be much better seen.

August the 2d 1758. Moderate breezes and fair weather, the wind from S. to S. W. At one the enemy was edging down upon us in a line of battle a-breast: the commanding ship, under our three topsails on the cap, appeared to be close reefed, and steered for our center. At half past one the Cumberland being pretty well up, we made the signal for the line of battle a-head. At two it fell little wind, and came to the southward. About three our line was well formed, and we stood to the eastward under our topsails; the fore-top sail full; the main-top sail square; the mizen-top sail sometimes full, and sometimes aback, as the ships stations in the line required. At three made the signal to speak with the fire-ship, and soon after for the Queenborough. All this time the enemy continued bearing down on us with the same sail, and our squadron con-

Vo L. III.

T

tinued

A. D.
1758.

ever our fleet continued the chase, and on the 3d of August gained its point. At five in the morning the enemy was discovered about a league to the windward of Negapatam, formed, as usual, in the line of battle a head, with their starboard tacks on board. Our fleet also formed in the same manner, and stood to the south with an easy sail. It was presently seen, that the enemy had recourse to their former delusions, and were seeking to get offⁱ: but, the wind being in his favour, Admiral Pocock

tinued in a very regular close line. At five the enemy's van was on our beam, at about two miles distance; and at an hour after, they made some signals; and soon after hauled their wind. The van ship hoisted her topsails, and set her courses. The commanding ship hoisted her topsails, hauled her fore-tack on board, and stood close upon a wind to the S. E. At ten minutes after, when he had got before our beam, we made the signal for our van to fill, and stand on; which we did with the whole squadron under topsails and foresail, making the proper signals for keeping the line in the night. The enemy from dark to eleven o'clock made several signals by guns, and judging by the sound, they were fired on our quarter, concluded they had tacked. Upon which, a little before twelve, made the signal to ware; and wore with all the squadron, and made sail to the westward.

ⁱ August the 3d 1758. Moderate and fair weather; at 6 P. M. the Salisbury made the signal for seeing four sail to the north west. At five A. M. saw the French squadron, about three miles to the westward of us, in a line of battle ahead, standing to the southward. D^o. we made the signal for the line of battle ahead, which was very soon formed. At six Nagapatam bore W. S. W. half W. distance about three leagues. At eight minutes past seven made the signal for the Tyger and Cumberland to make more sail. At 20 minutes past

Pocock got the weather gage; and forced them to an engagement about one o'clock next day; their line being then in the form of a half moon, the van and rear being to windward of their centre.

A. D.
1758.

Forces
them to an
engage-
ment.

There being a possibility of getting off without a brush, the enemy's ship in the van fired on the Elizabeth, who was got within musket shot of her. Upon which the admiral threw out the signal of battle, and began the engagement with the whole squadron. D'Ache was now obliged to pull off the mask of bravery, and to run like a coward. In ten minutes he set his foresail, as did the rest.

Run away.

past seven we stood to the S. E. in a well-formed line, the enemy's van at the same time bearing W. half N. distant about four miles. At half past eight, the enemy's van began to edge down upon us. At forty minutes past eight made the Tyger and Elizabeth signal to change places in the line; and at 45 minutes past nine the Tyger made the Salisbury signal to close the line: and at ten the enemy bore away, as if they intended to run under the stern of the rear of our line. At ten minutes after made the signal for the leading ships to steer to points away from the former course. D^o. we edged away, and steered south. At 25 minutes past ten made the Weymouth and the Weymouth made the Newcastle signal to close the line. From this time till 20 minutes past 11, employed in towing our particular ships into their stations; for there was little or no wind, and the ships in some disorder. At 20 minutes past 11 the sea breeze set in from the S. E. which brought the enemy on our larboard and lee quarter. At half past 11 the enemy's van was on our lee beam, distance about one mile and a half. At noon our squadron was in a very good line, and preparing to bear down on the enemy. The Elizabeth and Queenborough repeated all the signals we made during the action.

A. D.
1758.

under his command, and kept a running fight, in a very irregular line, till two o'clock, when they put before the wind; nor could all that Admiral Pocock was able to do by signals for a closer engagement, prevent their getting away. He then gave the signal to chase: the enemy cut away their boats, and made all the sail they could about N. N. E. and got quite off into Pondicherry road; our fleet being obliged by the night to come to an anchor off Carical, about eight o'clock^k.

The

^k August the 4th 1758. Moderate and fair weather, at 20 minutes past 12 P. M. made the leading ships signals to steer six points from the former course; our ships then in a well-formed close line. At 55 minutes past 12 made the rear ships signal to close the line. At one took in top-gallant sails. At this time the enemy seemed to be drawn up in a half moon line, their van and rear being to windward of their center. At 20 minutes after one, observing the French admiral made the signal to engage, and their van ships to fire upon the Elizabeth, we immediately made the signal for engaging, which was immediately repeated by the Elizabeth and Queenborough, and obeyed by the whole squadron. Ten minutes after, the French admiral set his foresail, and kept more away. The rest of their squadron did the same, and their line was soon broke. The remainder of the action was a running fight. At 35 minutes past 1, the signal for the line was shot away, and another instantly hoisted. Two minutes after that, our main-topfail yard was shot down on the cap, and the main-topmast much damaged at the same time. Forty minutes past one, the signal for battle was shot away again, and another hoisted directly. At two the enemy's leading ship in the van put before the wind, having cut away her mizen-mast, on account of its being on fire. The French admiral put before the wind eight minutes after, and was followed by all the ships of the enemy, from

The loss of the French is said to have been very great¹, and their running away seems to confirm that report. As for our loss, it consisted chiefly in our masts and rigging: we had only 30 killed, and 60 wounded, amongst whom was Commodore Stevens, by a musket ball in his shoulder; and Captain Martin, by a splinter in his leg.

A. D.
1758.

Their loss.

Loss of the
English.

Two days after this action, the Ruby, a French snow, of 120 tons, laden with shot and medicines, from the islands to Pondicherry, was taken by the Queenborough.

from the van to the center. At 25 minutes past two the enemy's rear put before the wind. At the same time we made the signal for a closer engagement, in order for our ships to bear down, as fast as possible, after them. At 55 minutes past two, the enemy wore, and hauled up a little on the southward tack, as we did at the same time. At three made the general signal to chase. At the same time hauld down the signal for the line of battle and close engagement; when we made all the sail we could after them, the enemy being at two great a distance to fire at them, and crouding with studding-sails, and every thing else, from us, their boats all cut adrift, and they standing about N. N. W. We were employed in knotting and splicing the old, and reeving new rigging, to enable us to make more sail: the less disabled ships about three miles a-head, and the enemy's rear about five ditto. At six, observing the enemy increased their distances, we made the signal to leave off chase, hauling down the signal for battle at the same time, and, after joining our ships to leeward, hauled close to the wind with the larboard tacks on board; and at eight made the signal, and anchored in nine fathom water, Carical W. half N. distant about three or four miles.

¹ They had above 550 men killed and wounded. Amongst the latter were M. d'Ache and his captain.

T 3

However

A. D.
1758.

Measures
taken for
the security
of Mad-
ras, &c.

However the French army acted with vigour, and threatned our settlements and our allies on that coast with destruction. The government of Madras, after the loss of Fort St. David, took every measure for defence, as their circumstances would allow. They withdrew the garrisons of Arcot, Chengalaput, and Carangoly, and ordered them into Madras: and sent the like instructions to Davecotah to evacuate the town and retreat, should the enemy march against that place.

Lally takes
Davecotah.

Davecotah was the next object of M. Lally's operations, and found it evacuated according to order; the Chief having retired, with the garrison, to Trichinopoly, through the Tanjore country.

Carries his
arms into
the Tan-
jore coun-
try.

Lally having placed a garrison of 700 men in this acquisition, took the rout to Trichinopoly, but passed by Tanquebar, where he got a supply of ammunition and field pieces from the Danes: then he proceeded to Negapatam, and settled with the Dutch a contract for a continual supply of provisions, during his intended campaign in the Tanjore country, in case of need^m. With this assistance the French general marched to Trivalour, a pagado, 15 miles from Tanjore; established a magazine, and sent deputies to the King of Tanjore, with a demand of 75 lack of rupees, by virtue of a note extorted from him by the French army and the rebel Chunda Saib, in the year 1749; and of a passage through his country, for his army to

His de-
mands on
the Raja.

^m It is said, that the Dutch did also supply him with money, cannon and ammunition.

march

march against Trichinopoly. But the French having commenced hostilities against the Tanjoreans, by seizing upon their port of Nagore, in their rout from Negapatam, and selling all the effects belonging to the country merchants from all parts of India, found at that port, to the value of five lack of rousees, to one Mr. Fisher, colonel of hussars in their own service, for half value; this proceeding, so contrary to common right, and the laws of arms and nations, provoked the Tanjoreans to take up arms in their own defence: and their King had already ordered Monagre, his general, to take the field and oppose their march; and Captain Caillaud, by his instructions from Madras, detached 1000 Sepoys and 500 Collories, to his assistance. But the Tanjorean army could not stand before so powerful a body of European regulars, and retreated with a resolution to maintain a siege in their capital.

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1758.

Rejected.

The Raja
assisted by
the Eng-
lish.

Though the King was sensible of his own weakness, and of the strength of the French, the aversion, conceived against such a perfidious friend, made him reject all proposals of a treaty. However, M. Lally dropt some of his haughtiness, and, before he would risque every thing to the event of arms, he endeavoured, by an embassy of two officers and a priest, to work upon the King's fears. In this embassy he dropt the demand of the money: he only requested a free passage for his troops; and made a formal demand of the aid of his troops, by virtue of former treaties of alliance between them. The King absolutely re-

Another
demand of
the French.

A. D.
1758.

refused to join his troops for their assistance. He consented to a passage for their troops; but not by the road they asked: and he voluntarily agreed to make them a present of two lack and a half of rupees.

The officers returned with this answer: but the priest remained in Tanjore, under the pretence of continuing the treaty: who, encouraged by the concession made by the King, demanded another audience, and then peremptorily demanded a passage and his troops, and five lack of rupees. The King greatly surprized at the priest's presumption; and being informed that the French army kept advancing contrary to the tenor of all rules, when a treaty is on foot, he ordered the priest to be dismissed: and the French advanced guard firing upon the town from two pieces of cannon, that same night, there was a final stop to all negotiation.

Tanjore
besieged.

French
force.

What could not be accomplished by art, was now attempted by force. A train of 14 field pieces, and three of heavy cannon, besides 14 more ready at Trivalour, were placed in a battery before Tanjore; with an army of 2370 regulars, and a great number of disciplined Sepoys, to form the siege. But the Tanjoreans were spirited up by resentment. They were not discouraged. Frequent sallies cut off some Europeans and did the French considerable damage; destroyed some convoys of provisions, and greatly interrupted their communication with Carical. On our part, Captain Caillaud had the good conduct and success to prevail

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1758.

prevail with Tondeman to assist, with all his force, against the French : part of which reinforced the garrison of Trichinopoly ; and another part of his Peons were employed in harrassing the enemy, and intercepting their supplies.

M. Lally's situation was become desperate. It was equally as hazardous to retreat, as to remain before Tanjore : the country being covered with forces, to cut off his retreat, and the want of provisions and other necessaries daily increasing in his camp. In this critical juncture we shall see the Frenchman unmasked. What they can't bring about by intrigue and stratagem, nor effect by main force ; the French scruple not to attempt by breach of faith, and an open violation of treaty. An officer of some rank and quality, and a priest, was sent to the King, with full powers to accommodate matters, and to remain hostages for the performance of what should be agreed by themselves : and they so far managed for the French interest, that the King was prevailed upon to pay 50,000 rupees in hand, and to promise four lack more, and a supply of 300 horse and 1000 Colleries : on condition that the French army should break up, and remove from before the town. But M. Lally, shewing no dispositions for the performance of his part of the treaty, the King of Tanjore detained the hostages. M. Lally then promised to raise the siege, provided the King would immediately send the reinforcement he had promised ; and that he should detain the hostages, till the French army was removed three days march from

Desperate
condition
of M.
Lally.Resumes a
negocia-
tion.

the

A. D. 1758. Breaks his agreement. the place. But it is certain that M. Lally had no thoughts of leaving Tanjore, and that he was fully bent upon gaining that city, either by force or by any other means. For, he was thus prostituting the sacred faith of treaties, to impose his illegitimate policy upon the Indian. While the hostages were proclaiming nothing but peace and friendship within the walls, Lally was bringing up his heavy cannon, and erecting batteries. So that when the King had ordered 50, of the 300 horsemen intended by agreement, to march into the French camp, M. Lally, being prepared to batter in breach, pretended that this was a breach of the treaty, and put an end to all negociation, by ordering those 50 horsemen under confinement, and firing so furiously on the town, that a considerable breach was soon made.

Is attacked. Such perfidy could not escape its due reward. The Tanjoreans determined to try the fate of a general sally on the 9th of August. They at once attacked the French camp and batteries, killed about one hundred Europeans, took one gun, one tumbril of ammunition, two elephants and some horse, and blew up four tumbrils of ammunition. The French general dreading the consequences of such another sally, and having lost most of his ammunition, spiked up his guns upon the batteries, and retreated with all his forces, in the night, to Carical, with such caution, that their flight was not known in the city, till discovered by the returning light of the morning. The Tanjoreans, flushed with success, and spurred

Forced to fly.

spurred with resentment, pursued and took fifty men, two pieces of cannon and two mortars.

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1758.

The rest got into Trivalour; thence to Carical, and, as soon as opportunity served, M. Lally sneaked away with his shattered remains to Pondicherry; where he met M. Soupire, whom he had detached with the troops left at Davecotah.

To Pondi-
cherry.

The Tanjore country being thus delivered from the French, and Captain (now Major) Caillaud at liberty to repair to his order at Madrasⁿ, marched from Trichinopoly with two hundred and fifty men, and embarked on board the squadron at Negapatam. They landed at Madras on the 25th of September, and the admiral being obliged, by the approach of the season, to repair to Bombay, he left a captain and lieutenant, with 103 marines, to reinforce the garrison. Many other measures were taken for the security of Madras. Several bodies of auxiliaries were solicited from Isouf Cawn, Morarow, the King of Tanjore, Tondeman and the other Polygars in that part of the country. But the French did not make any visible dispositions for the attack of this settlement, till very late in the year; employing their arms in the reduction of Arcot, Tripassore, Conjeveram, and in preparations against the important post^o of Chengalaput; but their designs

ⁿ The French having abandoned Seringham, Captain Caillaud took possession of that place before he left Trichinopoly.

^o It covers all the countries on this side the Pollar: and when in the possession of an enemy, would open a way into our limits, encourage deserters from our garrison, and prevent supplies of fire wood, grain and other provisions for the town.

against

A. D.
1758.

against this place, though they advanced with an army of about 400 Europeans, 500 Sepoys, and five pieces of cannon, were frustrated by placing a garrison of nine companies of Sepoys, twelve gunners, and seventy Europeans; strength sufficient to resist a sudden assault, or a coup de main: and it was not consistent with the French interest to bring up their whole army and heavy artillery before such a place, which might be attended with an expence and loss of time destructive of their grand object. Thus stood affairs between the English and the French in the East Indies, in the beginning of December, when M. Lally marched against Madras, where we shall leave the belligerents, dealing in the slaughter-house of destruction till the 17th of Feb. 1759.

Expedition
against the
French in
Golconda.

But we must not yet repass the line. There still remains a scene of blood, and a favourable expedition in Golconda. As M. Lally was invested with a supreme power over his countrymen in these climates, he ordered M. de Buffy and M. Moracin, who were tyrannizing in the country of Golconda, to join him, with part of their forces, in the expedition against Fort St. George; and to leave the command of the other part of the army with the Marquis de Conflans, at Massulipatam. M. Buffy being withdrawn, and the country heartily vexed with the French yoke, the Raja of Visanapore marched with 3000 men to Vizagapatam, imprisoned the French chief, plucked down the French colours, hoisted English colours, and plundered the factory.

M. de

M. de Conflans resolved to punish this insult, by reducing the Raja, and taking Visanapore, his capital. For which purpose he marched with his army from Massulipatam. The Raja, diffident of his own strength, solicited aid from Calcutta. He informed Colonel Clive of the state of the French forces; of what he had already done; of the universal hatred of the country towards the French; of their desire to come under the protection of the English; and assured him, that a small aid of Europeans would enable him to drive the French quite out of those parts.

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The application of the Indian prince was laid before the council by the colonel, after he had weighed every part of the plan with coolness and sound judgment. The council did not receive it with any countenance. They looked upon it to be a hazardous enterprize, and subject to fatal consequences, in case of a miscarriage. But the colonel considered this plan in a more general view. He had often seen an army of French flying before a handful of English, on the coast of Coromandel, and he judged rightly, that such an event, which was more than probable, would greatly contribute to the preservation of Madras. Possessed with these hopes, and animated by experience, the brave colonel, preferring the public good to any private views of advantage, which would arise to himself by a large command, never desisted till he brought the council into his measures, to risque something for the security of Madras; and proposed to detach two thirds of his force

The difficulties it met with in council.

Advised and carried by Colonel Clive.

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Forces em-
ployed.

Under
Colonel
Forde.

Strength of
the French.

force to prevent M. Conflans marching to reinforce M. Lally ; who, after the reduction of Madras, would have had it greatly in his power also, to ruin our interest and settlements in Bengal ^P.

The succours being agreed upon : five hundred Europeans, including a company of artillery, six hundred Sepoys, six stout six pounders and a howitzer, for the field artillery ; four twenty-four pounders, four eighteen pounders ; one eight inch mortar and two royal mortars, for a battering train, were detached under the command of Colonel Forde, with the greatest expedition ; embarked on the 12th of October, and on the 20th they arrived at Vizagapatam ; where the colonel met with Mr. Johnstone, who had been sent to the Raja, with advice of the resolutions taken by the council, and of the failing of the forces to his assistance. Mr. Johnstone brought him the disagreeable news, That the French were much stronger than had been represented, consisting of about 600 Europeans, between 5 and 6000 Sepoys, and many country forces, encamped on

^P At this very time the Shaw Zadah was preparing to march against the Soubach, our ally in Bengal, and it was necessary for all our settlements in those parts, to lead an European force to repulse him. Therefore it should be noted, That had M. Lally succeeded at Madras, the superiority of our fleet would have been no security to Bengal ; and our victorious troops at Patna might have experienced a fatal reverse of fortune, by finding themselves cut off from all possibility of a return, it being nearer by land to Calcutta, from those parts of Golconda, which were possessed by the French, than it is from Patna to that settlement.

this

this side Raja-mundry river, at the distance of 120 miles from Vizagapatam; and that the Raja's army did not exceed 4000 men, encamped about thirty miles from the same port. However, Colonel Forde landed his troops, and made the best provision he could, in such a country, for their march, and joined the Raja's army on the 3d of the next month.

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English
and In-
dians unit-
ed.

The united armies marched in quest of the French for some days, when Mr. Andrews, the company's agent and chief at Vizagapatam, together with Captain Callinder, and some other servants of the company, joined the army^a. They were introduced to the Raja by Colonel Forde, and after paying their address in form, Mr. Andrews remained to see the agreement between the company and the Raja executed. By which the Raja consented to pay the extra-expence of our army during the time they should act together, allowing the officers double batty, which was to be paid, when he should be put in possession of Raja-mundry, a large town and fort, then in possession of the French. And in regard to the conquests that might be made, it was stipulated, That all the inland country, taken from the allies of France, and at present in arms, should be given to the Raja: but that all the conquered sea-coast, from Vizagapatam to Maffulipatam, &c. should remain in the possession of the company.

March in
quest of
the enemy.

Raja's a-
greement
with the
English.

The enemy was encamped very strongly, with 500 Europeans, 8000 Sepoys, a great number of

Enemy's
camp and
strength.

^a On the 15th.

country

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Attempts
to draw
them out
of their
entrench-
ments.

The Eng-
lish march
to get
round the
enemy.

M. Con-
flans's at-
tack of the
English
camp.

country forces, 36 pieces of cannon, and some mortars, near the village of Tallapool, about 40 miles from Raja-mundry. The allied army got sight of them on the 3d of December, and on the 6th Colonel Forde marched nearer to the enemy's camp, and gained an eminence at about three miles from it. But the French shewed no inclination to risk a battle: and it was not prudent to attack them in their present situation. Therefore Colonel Forde proposed a motion of his troops, which would either draw them out of their camp, or get between them and Raja-mundry. Accordingly, it was agreed with the Raja, and orders were issued, late at night, for the army to march at half past four in the morning, without beat of drum, or any other noise whatever. Our army struck their tents, and marched at the hour, and in the manner appointed; but the Raja's forces loitered, and were left on the ground, and disconcerted the whole plan. For, M. de Conflans being informed, the night before, by a deserter, that our troops were raw and undisciplined, and that he could guide the enemy to the most convenient place to annoy us, got all his troops under arms at one o'clock in the morning, and detached a large party, under the conduct of the deserter, with six pieces of cannon, to cannonade our camp; which the French, not informed of our march, began a little before day.

The Raja's forces, by this incident, were greatly exposed: and our men were obliged to return to their assistance, and to bring them off. Which
being

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being done, they marched together to Golapool, and halted on a small plain about three miles from their encampment. But when Conflans found that our army was marched off, and had got a true account of our motions, he soon penetrated into the colonel's intention to steal a march round him : which he must prevent at all events. Therefore Conflans immediately ordered his troops in a line of march towards us, and kept between our army and his own camp. Which orders were so well effected, that in about half an hour after halting, as above, our men discovered the enemy's Sepoys, then the whole line, about three quarters of a mile off on our left flank : and, in a few minutes, all their force closed and moved down towards us, in good order.

His order
of battle.

The Indians had not yet recovered their fright ; and were in some confusion, at the sight of the advancing enemy. However, Colonel Forde, to make the best of a bad market, prevailed with the Raja to give up the whole command of his troops to him. And about nine he formed the line, with the Indians, armed with fire-locks, on the right and left of the Sepoys in each wing ; because the enemy's line extended much further than ours ; and with a small body of European deserters, and four pieces of cannon, under Captain Bristol, an European in the Raja's service, together with our artillery, on the left of the battalion.

Colonel
Forde's or-
der of bat-
tle.

About ten o'clock, the enemy began a cannonade, which was returned, and continued very

French be-
gin to can-
nonade.

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U

briskly

A. D
1758.

briskly for forty minutes, on both sides; when the French, mistaking our battalion of Sepoys, dressed in red cloth jackets, for Europeans, their battalion and right wing of Sepoys, with a body of horse, endeavoured to fall upon our left flank. The Sepoys returned their fire pretty smartly, but fell into some confusion, and gave way, as the enemy advanced.

Colonel
Forde at-
tacks.

Colonel Forde, taking the advantage of the enemy's mistake, ordered the European battalion to make a quarter-wheel, as quick as possible. Which was done with that expedition, that they made their proper front, were ready to give them their whole fire, as they advanced close, and, after a very great slaughter, advanced with three huzzas, and pushed them with bayonets fixed, seconded with a smart fire of grape-shot from the cannon; before the enemy had time to recover themselves: which threw them into confusion, and so animated our Sepoys, in the left wing, who had before given way, that they returned to the charge: and they in the right wing behaved with uncommon resolution, and soon made the enemy's black forces, on the left, give ground.

Gains the
victory.

So that about eleven o'clock the retreat of the enemy became general. Had the Raja's horse, about 500 in all, taken the pursuit, scarce a Frenchman would have escaped. But the Raja's troops in general, except the deserters, commanded by Captain Bristol, could not be prevailed upon to advance a foot beyond our European battalion, and had diverted themselves, during

during the whole action, with looking on, and firing a few rockets, and in plundering. A. D. 1758.

We had forty-four Europeans killed and wounded, including two captains and two lieutenants: Loss of men on both sides. the French had 156 killed and wounded, including officers. But great numbers of the black forces fell on both sides.

There was a faint appearance of a resolution to rally at their camp: but our troops pursued them so closely, that they dispersed in small bodies; made the best of their way to Raja-mundry, and abandoned their camp, baggage, ammunition, ordnance, tents and equipage; all which fell into our possession; the enemy having saved nothing, but four small field-pieces and two camels loaded with money and papers, which their general had sent off to Raja-mundry, as soon as he first perceived the disorder of his army. Pursue the enemy.
Their loss of baggage, &c.

Our army halted in the French camp, to refresh themselves, and to bring the wounded in the best carriages they could procure from the field of battle. The French officers made prisoners were permitted to go on their paroles, with our sick and wounded, to Cockanara, a Dutch settlement, about twenty miles from the field of battle.

A detachment of the first battalion of Sepoys was ordered, under Captain Knox, to pursue the enemy that evening, as far as Raja-mundry: and he was, next day, reinforced with two battalions of Sepoys, under Captain Maclean. They being joined, came upon the enemy in the dusk of the evening. The Sepoys threw down their

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Raja-mundry
surrenders.

Its conse-
quence.

Plunder
sold by
auction for
the sol-
diers.

The war
in Germa-
ny.

arms and dispersed: the Europeans took to their boats; of whom fifteen were made prisoners, and some were killed. Captain Knox got possession of the Fort of Raja-mundry, and from thence so effectually cannonaded the enemy across the river, that they left the four field-pieces in the boats, on the opposite side.

Raja-mundry is a barrier and key to the Vizagapatam country: The French held it as their own property, in which they kept a slender garrison and a governor. Our people found here more artillery, ammunition and stores; about 500 bullocks, some horses and camels, and a good deal of rich furniture. The military stores were kept for the company. But Colonel Forde sold every thing else by auction, and divided the produce amongst the soldiers, for their good behaviour. Thus ended the expedition to Golconda, as advised by Colonel Clive, to the great advantage of our affairs in the East Indies, contrary to the opinion of the council at Calcutta.

While our fleets and armies gloriously triumphed over the enemy in Asia, Africa and America, except the loss of Fort St. David, which was more owing to the ruinous condition of its fortifications, neglected by the company, than to any misconduct of our officers, or want of courage in our men; the war in Europe was carried on with extreme vigour, both by sea and land.

It had been concerted to favour the operations in Germany, by a powerful diversion with our naval power, alarming, and, if possible, making descents,

descents, and lodgments of a military force upon the coast of France^a. Prince Ferdinand had made the best dispositions after the victory at Crevelt, and the reduction of Dusseldorp, to transfer the seat of war into the enemy's country. But this could not be effected without some means could be found to draw Prince de Soubize's army out of Germany, or to leave a sufficient strength to cover Hesse and Hanover from his enterprizes; who had already wheeled off towards the Landgravate. However we shall see presently, that Soubize was too powerful for the Hessian forces, and that the French, though greatly embarrassed by our littoral war, which obliged them to act with more caution and less expedition in Germany, were not driven to the necessity actually to recall their troops from thence; for it is certain, that both Soubize and Contades had provisional orders, to hold themselves in readiness to return into France upon the first notice. So far the allies were assisted, and our common interest with Germany was promoted by the expeditions against Cherbourg and St. Maloes.

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Under
Prince
Ferdinand.

It's uses.

Measures
taken by
the French.

This design could not escape the French: and they could not push their arms, or, at least, make a powerful stand and effort towards Hesse and Hanover; they must have felt severely the fatal consequences of Prince Ferdinand's passing the Rhine, and co-operating with our arms on the coast of France. Therefore, their principal effort was to

^a See page 157, Vol. III.

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be made on our weakest part. Instead of enabling M. Contades, with the addition of Prince de Soubize's army, to force the army of the allies, and to drive them back beyond the Rhine, and thereby risking the uncertain chance of a battle, that might expose their own country to certain ruin; the French ministry, whose affairs were now guided by the experienced M. Duke de Bellisle, reinforced the army of M. Contades with draughts from the militia, so as to maintain his ground, but not to come to an engagement; and directed the Prince de Soubize to open a way, at all adventures, into Hesse and Hanover; where the chance of success was greatly in their favour; and where any success must certainly oblige Prince Ferdinand to give up his scheme, of transferring the seat of war into France, and to employ his forces to cover the countries of the British allies.

In Hesse.

Prince Soubize executed his orders with the utmost expedition: and though his vanguard happened to be repulsed by the Hessian militia^r, he accomplished his purpose by a detachment of 12,000 regulars, under the command of the Duke de Broglie, he himself bringing up the van with 18,000 more, to attack the Hessians, who every where fled before him, and were encamped in an advantageous situation, between Cassel and Minden, near the village Sangerhausen, to the number of 7000 regulars and irregulars, under the command of Prince de Ysemburg: which was the whole

^r See p. 173. Vol. III.

strength

strength, at that time, in the Landgravate of Hesse, capable of making any resistance against an invader. Prince Ysemburg, conscious of his insufficient strength, and willing to gain as much time as possible, in favour of the operations by Prince Ferdinand on the Rhine, would not have waited the arrival of the French army; neither was he inclined to risk a battle, but was resolved to march off. But his troops, especially the militia, flushed with their late success, presumed too much upon their own courage, held the enemy in too great contempt, and refused to stir, without a further trial of their strength and courage.

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Under these circumstances Prince Ysemburg made the best disposition he could, in such a situation. He drew up in order of battle, with his right at a steep declivity or rock, towards the river Fulda; his left reaching to, and covered by, a wood, and occupying the summit of the declivity. The advantage of the situation of this little army, on whose fate so much depended, obliged Broglie to take his measures with the greatest precaution. He first secured the defiles at Cassel and Sanderhausen with a guard of 2500 men: and then drew up his army in this form; his infantry in the first line; his horse and dragoons in the second; and ten pieces of cannon, of the brigade of artillery, before his right, to annoy the Hessian troops, next the wood. Upon the approach of the French, the Hessian cavalry advanced to attack the enemy's foot. The Duke de Broglie immediately lined a post of his foot, and through

Advantages over the Hessians under Prince Ysemburg.

The battle of Sanderhausen.

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the intervals made by this movement, a part of his horse advanced, and charged the Hessian horse; but they met with so resolute a reception, that they were repulsed, and the infantry were in great danger of being broke, had not the royal Bavier regiment saluted them with a volley, that brought most of them to the ground, and so disabled the rest, that they never after appeared in this action. In the mean time M. de Walderen, Major-General, and M. Diefbach made a vigorous attack on the wood, with a brigade of Swiss and three companies of grenadiers; but were severely treated and obliged to fall back. The infantry of the Hessian right marched briskly up to the French left; the fire was extreme hot on both sides. The Hessians were obliged to retreat about 100 paces; they rallied under a declivity, and returning under its favour, which partly covered them; they in their turn forced the enemy's left to give way; turned them, and endeavoured to get behind them. When the Duke de Broglio, convinced of his own danger, and of the necessity of a vigorous effort to snatch victory out of the hands of the Hessians, he first brought up the Apchon dragoons, and the cavalry behind them, through a very brisk fire; and then he ordered three regiments of grenadiers to march up to the declivity, and to charge the enemy with their bayonets fixed. So that numbers prevailed, and the brave defenders of their country were forced to give way and fly, after an action, that lasted full five hours.

Hessians
defeated.

The

The Hessians took to the woods on the banks of the Fulda; and dispersed, as well as they could. They lost in the engagement 300 men prisoners, including 50 officers, amongst whom was the Count de Caunitz, the second in command; an aid de camp to Prince Ysemburg, and several lieutenant-colonels and majors. The number slain and wounded were about 1500, including 300 that perished in the Fulda, endeavouring to swim that river, which they entered from the declivity. They lost seven pieces of cannon on the field of battle; and eight at Munden, which they abandoned. On the part of the French, they had 1785^s men killed, and 1392 wounded. The Duke de Broglie, his aid de camp, and master of horse, had each a horse killed under him. This is said to have been the most bloody action with the French during the war.

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The loss
on both
sides.

By this victory the French assumed to themselves the possession of the Weser, and were in a condition to act, not only in Hesse, but in Westphalia and Hanover, as they pleased. Which entirely disconcerted Prince Ferdinand's plan of operations; who now had no resource, but either to bring the French to a battle, in hopes of victory, or to repass the Rhine. But he had two great obstacles yet to overcome. He was retarded in the execution of necessary measures by long and

* The French account says only 785, but the Hessian account makes the loss of the French in this action above 3000 killed and wounded.

heavy

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Prince
Ferdinand's reasons for re-passing the Rhine.

heavy rains, that broke up the roads, over-flowed the banks of the rivers, and hindered his marching. And again, the French could not be brought to an engagement. So that when he received the news of Prince Ysemburg's defeat, and was informed that the enemy was reinforcing the fortresses of Gueldre, and several other posts, capable of obstructing his convoys, and cutting off the subsistence of his army; and further, that unnecessary delays might furnish Prince de Soubize with an opportunity to intercept the troops, he expected at that juncture from England, his Highness resolved to march back over the Rhine.

Executed
with safety.

This resolution was carried into execution on the 8th of July, when the whole army moved nearer the Maese, and encamped between Ruremond and Schwalm, with the head-quarters at Hellenrad. In this march the enemy shewed themselves on our left, and took possession of Bruggen. But Prince Ferdinand detached a party, that dislodged them, and made themselves masters of the town. There was no doubt of the enemy's moving towards us; but they so covered their motions by the detachments of light troops, that very imperfect notions only could be formed of their real intention. The Prince supplied the want of intelligence by his own sagacity and penetration, and conducted his army so dextrously that he fell in with the enemy, in his march to Dulcken, in the night between the 1st and 2d of August.

M. Con-

M. Contades, who hitherto had carefully avoided an engagement, and little expecting to meet Prince Ferdinand in his rout, retreated to his old camp at Dalem, from whence he had marched, rather than give battle: However, his Highness, not certain of the enemy's resolution, got his army under arms, early on the 3d in the morning, and made a motion for advancing towards the enemy. But they, by their motions, soon convinced him of their dislike to fight. They marched off with speed; and it being inconsistent with the present situation of the allies, to waste time in the pursuit of an enemy, that was determined not to fight, he marched forward to Watchtendonck, an island surrounded by the Niers, not fortified, but of very difficult approach. The hereditary Prince of Brunswick was ordered to force this post with the vanguard: and the rear was composed of Prussians, under the Prince of Holstein. The Hereditary Prince found the bridge drawn up, at his approach, and to save time in the pursuit of the guard, which drew it up, he entered the river. Some companies of grenadiers followed his example; and with bayonets fixed, they drove the enemy away, and secured the bridges: over which the army passed that evening. After this the army marched on the 4th to Rhineberg, without seeing a single troop of the enemy. But in the evening news was brought that M. de Chevert had passed the Lippe, with twelve or fourteen battalions, and several squadrons, in all 12,000 men, in order to join the garrison of Wesel, and then to fall upon

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M. Contades's motions.

A skirmish at Watchtendonck.

M. de Chevert passes the Lippe,

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a corps of about 3000 men, encamped at Meer, under Lieutenant-General Imhoff; who was ordered to guard a bridge Prince Ferdinand had thrown over at Rees.

To attack
General
Imhoff.

His Highness was convinced of the truth of this intelligence, and expected that Imhoff would be attacked next day: but it was not in his power to reinforce or to support him. His men were too much fatigued to begin another march, that same evening; and the over-flowing of the Rhine had rendered the bridge at Rees impassable. Therefore M. Imhoff had nothing to trust unto, but his own good conduct and the bravery of his troops, which had been six battalions and four squadrons; but were greatly reduced by several detachments made from them.

Agreeable to the intelligence received, (General Imhoff being returned to his advantageous post at Meer, upon a report of the enemy's preparations to attack him) the advanced guards were no sooner posted, but they found themselves engaged with the enemy, who advanced from Wesel, under the command of Lieutenant General de Chevert, &c. with the whole corps of troops designed to make the siege of Duffeldorp.

His strong
camp.

General Imhoff's camp was covered in front by coppices and ditches, with a rising ground on his right; from whence he could see the whole force of the enemy, and pass a sound judgment on the nature of their march. He perceived that the enemy was not acquainted with the ground; and that they would be soon entangled in

in its difficulties. With this expectation he ordered his infantry to advance about 200 paces from the first hedges: he took a regiment from his right and placed it in the coppice, in order to fall upon the naked left wing of the enemy, which he saw uncovered, and gave orders to the other regiments to march with drums beating, up to the enemy, as soon as they should hear the fire of the regiment posted in the coppice, and to attack them with bayonets fixed. The enemy entered the dangerous ground as expected; and General Imhoff's orders were executed by the whole six battalions, with such impetuosity and effect, that, after a resistance of about half an hour, the enemy was put into confusion; fled towards Wesel, and left on the spot eleven pieces of cannon, and a great many waggons and other carriages, with ammunition^t; besides 354 prisoners, amongst whom were eleven officers; 150 killed, and 200 wounded: whereas the killed and wounded in General Imhoff's corps did not exceed 200 men.

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Prepared
to receive
the enemy.The ene-
my de-
feated.

Loss.

His Serene Highness waited this event with great impatience; and as soon as informed of this glorious victory, over an enemy triple the number of the conquerors, he detached General Wangenheim, with several squadrons and battalions, to reinforce General Imhoff, and to put him in a

General
Imhoff re-
inforced.

^t The consternation of the French was so great, that they threw down their arms: and 2000 muskets were gathered from the ground, over which they ran away.

condi-

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condition to make the utmost advantage of a victory as complete, as it was glorious to the arms of Great Britain and her allies. The allied army then proceeded, with an intention to pass the Rhine at Rhineberg, but that river had been swelled so prodigiously by the continual rains, that the shore was inaccessible both at Rhineberg and at Rees, which obliged them to throw a bridge over at Griethuyfen.

This bridge was laid over between the 8th and the 9th. The enemy, having advice of this expedient, and the detriment it was to the allies to be kept in this bad situation, sent four boats of a particular construction, to destroy it, from Wesel, on the morning of the 9th. But this was not done so secretly, as to escape the knowledge of our commander in chief: who sent the armed vessels, he had on the river, to intercept them: which they punctually performed. So that, the whole army passed that day, and the next, without the least interruption, having withdrawn the garrison from Dusseldorp; which, on the 13th, passed the Rhine at Wesel. Soon after General Imhoff, reinforced to eleven battalions and ten squadrons, marched to meet the troops, arrived from England by the way of Embden, under the Duke of Marlborough, and happily succeeded in their junction at Coesfeldt.

Joins the
British
troops.

Thus as the advantage gained by the Duke de Broglie, at Sanderhausen in Hesse, deprived Prince Ferdinand of the good effects he had in view from the battle of Crevelt: so the action at Meer, with
the

the seasonable reinforcement of British troops, not only facilitated Prince Ferdinand's passage of the Rhine; but prevented any material advantages being drawn from the battle at Sanderhausen.

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The allied army being united, their commander, sensible of the fatigues his troops had undergone, by the unwholesomeness of the wet season, and continual service, judiciously chose some excellent posts upon the river Lippe, and there placed himself in a posture of defence, to prevent the enemy's penetrating by that way into Hanover. At the same time he provided for the safety of that Electorate, and the Landgravate of Hesse Cassel, by placing Prince Ysemburg, with the remains of his army, recruited with the Hessian militia, in such a manner, as to protect the course of the Weser. M. Contades, despairing of a passage over the Lippe, reinforced Soubize to 30,000 men, by detachments from the grand army; in order to force a passage over the Weser. Prince Ferdinand, aware of the enemy's intention, detached General Oberg, with a reinforcement of 10,000 men, to Lipstadt, to be at hand and join the Hessians, in case of need: and the motions of the French soon obliged him to join. General Oberg took the chief command of this army, which did not exceed 20,000, and encamped at the strong post of Sanderhausen, upon the Fulda, trying every scheme to provoke the French to attack him in his trenches. But the Prince of Soubize could not be drawn into so dangerous an attempt, though his army consisted of near 30,000 effective

Allied army quartered on the Lippe.

Soubize's army reinforced.

General Oberg sent to watch his motions.

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effective men. However, the French army being reinforced on the 8th of October, gave strong indications of their resolution, at last, to enter into action. General Oberg was sensible of the enemy's great superiority: but yet his advantageous situation, near Sanderhausen, determined him to wait the issue, in hopes of profiting by some favourable motion. But those motions were designed only to deceive him, and to deprive him of that advantageous situation. With this intention, on the 9th in the morning, Prince Soubize left all his tents standing, and marched his whole army; and, after making different motions, he in the evening took possession of the camp near Waldau. General Oberg, with his troops under arms, was in hopes of being attacked. But the motions of the enemy were made at a distance, and upon eminences, divided by hollow ways; and, as the superiority of the French enabled the Prince of Soubize to send a large detachment, to get round the Hessians, by the road of Munden, which would have been of very dangerous consequence, General Oberg's care was to prevent being turned. This determined him to decamp; which he did at four next morning, with an intention to entrench himself behind Luttenburg. The French, having gained their point, which was, to dislodge him, let him march unmolested: but when he was come to the ground for his encampment, they were at his heels, and Oberg was obliged to form his troops in order of battle; with his right to the Fulda, and his left to a
thicket

Obliged to
quit his
strong
camp.

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thicket upon a rising ground, defended by five six-pounders. The cavalry supported the wings in a third line: his rear was covered by the village of Luttenberg, and by a strong rising ground furnished with four twelve pounders.

The French army kept a brisk cannonade while Oberg's army was forming; but with very little effect. A considerable body of the enemy filed off at a distance from his left, as if they intended to get possession of a wood on a hill, and so take the Hessians in flank and rear, or pass by to Munden: but our hunters met with them and routed them. The French pushed forward still more troops, till they posted their left towards the Fulde, and their right far beyond Oberg's left, with upwards of 30 pieces of cannon in their front.

Their
form of
battle.

General Oberg did all, that any one in his circumstances could do, to oppose the enemy in every part: and it was now four in the afternoon before the French made the attack in form. They began with a very brisk cannonading; which did little execution: being badly situated. At the same instant, they fell upon Major General Zastrow, with their first line of infantry; which General Zastrow attacked with the bayonet and routed. But these brave fellows were broke, in a moment, by the French cavalry, that took them in front and flank. The cavalry were then attacked by Oberg's cavalry, with advantage, till they were forced to yield to numbers. The French infantry, that had not been engaged, came on: which obliged the remains of the Hessians to retreat. The French

Battle.

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General
Oberg re-
treats.

then came out almost upon the back of General Oberg's first line; and placed their cannon, at the same time, that all the rest of their army was moving forward. The moment was critical: there was no view of success; and the only minute for a safe retreat was the present. The general, who had constantly given his directions with admirable composure, seized the opportunity; commanded a retreat, which was made with tolerable good order, quite up to the wood, where the defile, which leads to Munden, begins.

Had the French pushed with their great superiority in cavalry, the pursuit might have been fatal. But they only continued the fire of their artillery; which, though it was very briskly brought on by the Duke de Broglie, did no considerable damage; except overthrowing some artillery and waggons.

Evacuates
Munden.

General Oberg passed by Munden, at midnight; withdrew the garrison; encamped on the plain near Grupen, on the other side the Weser; and next morning, (the 11th) marched to the camp near Gunterstheim, without molestation. The French in all their motions had discovered their desire to make themselves masters of Munden: which town they now found evacuated; and they took possession of it without opposition, tho' it had cost them much blood to get to it: but the season was too far advanced for them to reap any considerable advantages further from this victory.

Intentions
of the
French.

However, it was evident, that the distress of Hanover was their chief point in view. M. Soubize ravaged

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ravaged the country and raised heavy contributions; retook Gottingen, and penetrated almost to the walls of Hamelen; which alarmed the regency of Hanover, who sent orders to the governor to open the sluices, and prepare for a vigorous defence; and, being afraid of the consequences, they once more sent away the archives, and other state papers, &c. from the capital to Stade.

In the mean time Captain Scheiter, with 500 horse, swam over the Lippe, fell upon a party of 160 French horse, took some prisoners and totally defeated the rest. He then proceeded towards Wesel, seized a convoy of 30 waggons with flour and wine, and 100 oxen, without the loss of a man; tho' fired at from the ramparts of Wesel.

The defeat of General Oberg finished the campaign on this side of Germany: and had it not been for the vigilance and wise dispositions of Prince Ferdinand, it might have been more favourable to the French. For they, who had been, in the beginning of the year, driven out of Hanover, Hesse, Westphalia, and back over the Rhine, were now masters of both sides of the Rhine, in possession of Cassel and Munden, threatening the gates of Hanover, and in a condition to penetrate into Westphalia; where they established their winter quarters. Prince Ferdinand fixed his head quarters at Munster, and disposed of his army in the landgravate of Hesse, and in the bishopricks of Munster, Paderborn, and Heldeheim; the severity of the season not permitting any attempt to be made upon the French

Skirmishes
on the
Lippe.

French,
masters of
the Rhine.

Prince
Ferdinand
goes into
winter
quarters at
Munster.

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after the junction of the British troops: whose commander in chief, the Duke of Marlborough, died of a dysentery, at Munster, a distemper contracted by the unwholsomeness of the climate, and by the fatigues, to which he had never been accustomed.

Wise disposition of
Prince
Ferdinand.

But we must not finish this account without doing justice to the great generalship, shewn, on this occasion, by Prince Ferdinand. Had not his foresight established a ready communication of his troops all along the Lippe, the defeat of Oberg might have been fatal to the cause of the allies: but this wise disposition of his army, prevented the advantage, which otherwise the French might have gained by that victory. His Serene Highness, upon the first advice of the disaster, marched with the utmost diligence towards Rheda, and, having ordered Prince Ysemburg to fall back, joined his troops; and thereby he covered the Weser, without losing any thing on the side of the Rhine. For, though the electorate of Hanover was somewhat exposed by these movements; he knew the strength and position of the enemy so perfectly well, that he was under no sort of apprehension, that they could be able to make any establishment in it; nor act farther, than the damage, that might be done by their light troops; who were provided, by direction from their court, to run all risks, so that they carried off, or destroyed, all the provisions and forage in the higher Lippe, about Paderborn and Warfbourg, in all Westphalia and Hesse, from Lipstadt and Munster,

French destroyed the
forage and provisions
in Hesse,
&c.

ster, as far as the Rhine; and from the higher Lippe and Paderborn, as far as Cassel; as you'll find particularly commanded and described by M. de Belleisle's letters in the margin^u; in order to prevent

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^u The Marshal Duc de Belleisle to Marshal Contades, dated Versailles, July 23, 1758, in which there is the following passage:

“ I am still afraid that Fischer sets out too late: it is, however, very important, and very essential, that we should raise large contributions. I see no other resource for our most urgent expences, and for refitting the troops, but in the money we may draw from the enemy's country; from whence we must likewise procure subsistence of all kinds, (independently of the money) that is to say, hay, straw, oats, for the winter, bread, corn, cattle, horses, and even men, to recruit our foreign troops. The war must not be prolonged, and perhaps it may be necessary, according to the events which may happen, between this time and the end of September, *to make a downright desert before the line of the quarters, which it may be thought proper to keep during the winter*, in order that the enemy may be under a real impossibility of approaching us: at the same time reserving for ourselves a bare subsistence on the rout, which may be the most convenient for us to take, in the middle of winter, to beat up, or seize upon the enemy's quarters. That this object may be fulfilled, I cause the greatest assiduity to be used, in preparing what is necessary for having all your troops, without exception, well cloathed, well armed, well equipped, and well refitted, in every respect, before the end of November, with new tents, in order that, if it shall be adviseable for the King's political and military affairs, you may be well able to assemble the whole, or part of your army, to act offensively, and with vigour, from the beginning of January; and that you may have the satisfaction to shew your enemies, and all Europe, that the French know how to act, and carry on war, in all seasons, when they have such a ge-

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1758.

prevent Prince Ferdinand's return to the Rhine, or the Lohn, in the beginning of next campaign, and

neral as you are, and a minister of the department of war, that can foresee, and concert matters with the general.

You must be sensible, Sir, that what I say to you may become not only useful and honourable, but perhaps even necessary, with respect to what you know, and of which I shall say more in my private letter.

M. DUC DE BELLEISLE.

This was not the only letter among them, wherein directions were given for making a downright desert of the countries, for it appears by a letter dated in September following, (1758) as follows:

"You must, at any rate, consume all sort of subsistence on the higher Lippe, in the neighbourhood of Paderborn, and in the country which lies betwixt the Lippe, Paderborn, and Warbourg; this will be so much subsistence taken from the enemy from this day to the end of October. That you must destroy every thing which you cannot consume, so as to make a desert of all Westphalia, from Lipstadt and Munster, as far as the Rhine, on one hand, and on the other, from the higher Lippe and Paderborn, as far as Cassel; that the enemy may find it quite impracticable to direct their march to the Rhine, or to the lower Roer; and this with regard to your army, and with regard to the army under Mons. de Soubise, that they may not have it in their power to take possession of Cassel, and much less to march to Marpourg, or to the quarters which he will have along the Lohn, or to those which you will occupy, from the lower part of the left side of the Roer, and on the right side of the Rhine as far as Dusseldorp, and at Cologne."

In another, dated October 5, is the following passage:
"What makes it the more necessary to reduce all Westphalia to a desert, is, that we have certain advice, that the King of Prussia has formed a project, which has been approved of by the King of England, for carrying on the war during a great part

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and to keep their own quarters undisturbed during the winter.—This was a most barbarous and detestable

part of the winter, believing that this will be the surest means of distressing us; and people are now actually employed at Hamburgh, and in all the great towns, in making great coats, light boots, gloves, caps, and calots for their troops. But if, after all these precautions, they shall be obliged to carry their forage from the lower Weser by land, in order to attack our quarters on the lower part of the Roer and on the Rhine, they will never be able to succeed in it, because of the impracticability of the roads at that season of the year, and of the length of the way: they will therefore have no resource left but the lower Rhine, and even there they must go upon the canals and territories of Holland. I make no doubt of your being able to raise sufficient obstacles against any such attempt, and that you will take all the necessary precautions for that purpose."

And in a third, (October 30) there is the following: "You know the necessity of consuming, or destroying, as far as possible, all the subsistence, especially the forage, betwixt the Weser and the Rhine, on the one hand: and on the other, betwixt the Lippe, the bishopric of Paderborn, the Dymel, the Fulda, and the Nerra; and so to *make a desert* of Westphalia and Hesse."

A paragraph in another letter is worded still stronger, as follows: "The upper part of the Lippe, and the country of Paderborn, are the most fertile, and the most plentiful; they must, therefore, be eat up to the very roots: and as Mons. de Soubise, for the reasons above-mentioned, neither must, nor ought, to follow the enemy into the country of Hanover, he will probably only keep with him what troops are necessary for the security of Cassel."

And in another part of the same letter, he says, "I see Prince Ferdinand is at Munster: I am told, that he has ordered the magazines at Osnabruck to be brought there. It will be very vexatious, if he should be able to maintain so great a

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1758.

detestable resolution in an enemy, that cries up their own humanity and politeness on all occasions! However, the gallant young general, that commanded the allies, penetrated into this ruinous secret also, and took his measures so effectually, that defeated a great part of their infamous scheme.

Affairs of
Prussia.

We left the King of Prussia in the enjoyment of some advantages^w after his raising the siege of Olmutz, and preparing to transfer the seat of war from Moravia into Bohemia. But he was soon deprived of that advantage by the Russians, who, after several months marching and counter-marching through Poland and Prussia, in which they committed excesses of violence and cruelty, to the disgrace of human nature, sat down, with 90,000 men, and a formidable train of artillery, to besiege Custrin, a little town on the Elb, almost without fortifications, though the capital of the New Marche of Brandenburg, situate at the influx of the river Warte into the Oder, three German miles from Franckfort: which are the principal passages from the New into the Middle Marche. But its situation is naturally strong: for the river Warte incloses one part thereof, till it falls into the Oder; and the Oder incloses almost the other part. The other avenues are encompassed by broad morasses: and from its long suburb there is

Russians
march
against
Custrin.
Custrin de-
scribed.

quarter, so near you. This is one reason more for depriving him of all other means, by wasting the country, especially what lies betwixt the Lippe and the Roer, and all that is in the country of La Marck and Waldeck."

^w See page 156, Vol. III.

no other road to the city, but over a cause way, three quarters of a German mile in length, with 52 bridges over the morasses. Its chief artificial strength consists in a bridge over the Oder, defended by a battery, and a well built castle. The garrison consisted of no more than one battalion of regulars, one battalion of militia, two companies of invalids, and about 100 hussars.

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1578.

The first appearance of the Russians before this city, was on the 13th of August, at three in the afternoon. This was a body of their hussars and coffacks. The piquet guard in the suburb was immediately augmented to about 300 men, who were soon attacked by the enemy: which skirmish lasted from four till seven in the evening; when the enemy retired; and the garrison broke down the bridge over the Oder.

Russians
appear be-
fore Cu-
strin.

Skirmish.

Count Dohna, who commanded the Prussian army encamped near Frankfort on the Oder, being applied to by the governor of Custrin, detached a reinforcement of four battalions of infantry, ten squadrons of dragoons, and a small body of hussars, under Lieutenant-General Schorlemmer; who arrived next day. The hussars and a body of dragoons were added to the piquet in the little suburb, and the four battalions of grenadiers encamped on the Anger, between the suburb and the fortification: the remainder of the ten squadrons of dragoons encamped in the fields, to cover the long suburb. At the same time, there arrived Colonel Schack, with the commission of governor,

Garrison
reinforced.

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1758.

governor, or commander in chief, in case of a siege.

City bom-
barded.

On fire.

Distress of
the inhabi-
tants.

There was little or no appearance of an enemy on the 14th, except a party of Cossacks, who pursued Gen. Schorlemmer and Governor Schack, quite up to the city gates, as they went with a small party to reconnoitre the enemy: but on the 15th in the morning, between four and five o'clock, the citizens were awakened and terrified by the noise and shrieks of the hussars and cossacks, intermixed with cannon ball. As the enemy's troops advanced and took their stations, and brought their batteries to bear, the Prussians, the piquet guard, hussars, dragoons, &c. were obliged to retire into the city, or wherever they could best provide for their own safety. Having no other object to combat than the town; the Russians, in less than half an hour after the battalions had retired from the Anger, threw such a multitude of bombs and red hot shot into the city, that it was on fire in several parts, and burnt with such fury at nine o'clock, that there was no extinguishing the flames in the narrow streets; and the element appeared to rain and hail fire: which drove the inhabitants to seek for protection and safety in the open fields. The houses tumbled on all sides. Every body that could creep, got out of the town as fast as possible; and the crowd of naked, and in the highest degree wretched people, was vastly great, without distinction of persons: some few with horses and carriages, others with sick and bed-ridden upon their backs, thought themselves happy,

happy, if they could escape the showers of bombs, cannon balls, and red hot bullets.

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1758.

Not only the inhabitants, but many thousand strangers, from the open country and defenceless towns in Prussia, Pomerania, and the New Marche, that had fled here with their valuable effects, when the Russians entered the Prussian territories in hopes of a safe retreat, were now made most miserable, and reduced from opulent fortunes, to beggary. On the roads, nothing was seen but misery: nothing heard, but cries and lamentations, enough to move stones; as nobody knew where to get a morsel of bread, nor what to do for further subsistence. The neighbouring towns and villages were soon filled with the most deplorable

objects of distress. Within, the great magazine, the governor's house, the church, the palace, the store and artillery houses; in a word, the old and new town, the suburbs and the great bridge over the Oder, as well as all the others, were reduced to ashes: The inhabitants, many perished in the flames, knocked on the head under the ruins, or were suffocated in the vaults and subterraneous caverns, where they, in their fright, sought for safety. The public records or archives of the state were destroyed, and a prodigious quantity of corn and flour was consumed in the conflagration. The fire was so furious, that the cannon in the store and artillery houses were all melted: and the loaded bombs; the cartridges for cannon and muskets, a large quantity of powder and other combustibles went off, at once, with a horrible explosion.

Houses, &c;
burnt.

—A

A. D.
1758.

Inhumani-
ty of the
enemy.

—A spectacle so terrible, that no history can furnish a like example, except the destruction of Jerusalem. What is more inhuman, the enemy's fury was vented entirely upon the innocent inhabitants: for they did not begin to batter the fortifications, except a few shot, till the 17th, when the rest were all destroyed. But what could be expected from an enemy, that had disgraced the name of human creatures in all their previous operations *.

* What colour can the Russians give to their burning the villages of Zorndorff, Zicher, Wilkersdorf, Blumberg, Kutsdorf, Quartschen, and Birckenbusch, all which were in flames at the same time, and of which the greatest part of the inhabitants were, some killed, and others thrown into the flames. The public hath already been informed of the cruelties committed last June, by General Demikow, in Pomerania, and the New Marche. Above an hundred towns or villages were pillaged, and many women carried off and ravished. The Russians also set fire to the village of Furstgnau, and killed the farmer's wife: Vorbruch, and the suburb of Driesen, were likewise reduced to ashes. In the beginning of July, they pillaged the town of Friedeburgh, burnt the mill of Altenflies, and murdered the gardener of the bailiwick of Driesen. On the approach of the Prussians, they turned the environs of Custrin into a desert, burnt the seven villages abovementioned, killed the farmer of Tamsel, and at Blumberg and Camin massacred many peasants, and even infants with their mothers, whose mutilated bodies were found in the houses and barns. The churches have not been spared; they opened even graves and vaults, to strip the dead; which they did, particularly, at Camin and Birckholtz, where they stript the bodies of General Schladerndorf and General Ruitz, who were buried there. It will not be thought strange, that the name of barbarians should be given to persons capable of such cruelties.

His

His Prussian Majesty could not remain indifferent on this occasion: and though he had all the reason in the world to flatter himself with the hopes of success in Bohemia, where he had occupied the post of Nuchod, by his Lieutenant General Fouquet; and, in person, had driven General Laudhon from Oppotschau, and had obliged Count Daun to fortify himself on the hills of Libischau, he could not deny his faithful and brave garrison of Custrin his immediate assistance. He left his camp at Konigsgratz, and after some skirmishes, wherein he lost General Saldern and Colonel Blanckenburg, who were killed by the Pandours, at the first discharge, as they retreated from the suburbs of Konigsgratz; he, on the 9th of August, encamped at Landshut, and from thence proceeded with a detachment, in order to join the army at Franckfort under Count Dohna, where he arrived on the 22d; the garrison of Custrin still holding out against the mighty army and incessant fire of the Russians, without having a hovel to cover their heads from the heat of the day or the heat of action.—His Majesty's forces being joined, they were ordered to march at ten o'clock the same night, and next day he passed the Oder, by a bridge thrown over at Gatavise, and he took up his quarters at Golassan. Here he rested his army till one o'clock next day at noon, and proceeded to Dirmitzel; where he encamped and made the necessary dispositions for attacking the enemy next day.

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1758.

King of
Prussia
marches
against the
Russians.

On

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1758.

Advanceth
towards the
enemy's
camp.

Resent-
ment of
th Prussian
foldiery.

On the 25th the Prussian army marched in four columns, three of infantry, and one of cavalry: the van-guard consisted of ten battalions, commanded by Lieutenant-General Mantuffell. He endeavoured, by this march, to wind round the enemy's left flank: so that, having passed the small river Mitzel, he filed off by the forest of Massin, and the village of Bazels, into the plain; where both infantry and cavalry, spread themselves on the left flank, till they arrived at Zorn-dorff, on the back of the enemy; who had broke up the siege of Custrin, and drawn up their army on a narrow ground, in four lines; forming a front on every side, and surrounded with cannon and chevaux de frize. His Majesty arrived, in the presence of the enemy, at eight o'clock in the morning, and immediately formed in order of battle; his troops, exasperated at the sight of so many marks of Russian cruelty in every place, through which they marched, ardently wished for the opportunity to engage, and to avenge their countrymen of such cruel enemies. They looked upon their present service to be, in the strictest sense, fighting for their country; and that nothing but victory could deliver it from one of the severest scourges, with which Providence did ever chastise a nation. Even the existence of the Prussian crown depended on the fortune of the day. By these means the soldiers, nay the King himself, might be said to have been exasperated to a pitch of military enthusiasm: and in this

this enthusiastic rage they began and fought the most bloody conflict during the whole war.

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1758.

The action begun at nine o'clock in the morning (the 25th) near the village of Zorndorff, and lasted till seven at night. The fire of the artillery was inexpressible; for two hours, at least, the Prussian artillery rained on the Russians like showers from the heavens. Amidst this furious cannonade, the most dreadful that ever man beheld, the Russians stood undaunted. The Muscovite infantry were attacked first, with an impetuosity enough to stagger the bravest veterans of any civilized nation: but they stood like images: they fell in their ranks, and new regiments pressed forward to supply new slaughter. They were so insensible of danger, or indifferent, as to their own particular fate, that when the first line had fired away all their cartridges, they obstinately stood in that defenceless condition, to be shot at, like marks. If this may be called resistance; the Russian infantry must be allowed to have made a very great resistance; and that the only way to gain a victory over such troops, was to destroy them. The slaughter, in course, became very great: but their army was numerous; fresh bodies continually presented themselves, and made the most vigorous efforts: and if they, who are fatigued, can be said to give way, it is certain that the Prussian infantry were so fatigued with the work of carnage, that, at length, they gave way, even so far as to make the action doubtful on the Prussian left; till General Seidlitz, who commanded the Prussian

The battle
begun.

The fury
of the
Prussians.

The intrepidity of
the Russians.

fian

A. D.
1758.Their ca-
valry rout-
ed.A terrible
slaughter.Parted by
the night.Battle re-
newed.Russians
give way.

fian cavalry, seeing them flag and faint, and the Russian cavalry of their right wing endeavouring to improve the advantage, threw himself into the chasm, at the head of his own regiment of guardes du corps, and the gend-arms; routed the Russian cavalry, that knew not how to make use of the advantage, and then fell upon the infantry with an impetuosity, they were not able to withstand: for, being either spent by the work they had already gone through, or disheartened by the approach of the horse, and having lost their support, and the wind blowing the dust and smoke in their faces, they fell back all on a sudden, broke their ranks in such confusion, that they fired upon one another, and plundered their own baggage. By this time the Prussian infantry was rallied, and being led to the charge by the King in person, the slaughter became more shocking than ever. They drove the Russians into a narrow space, and continued the fight till seven o'clock with such regular fires, that every shot had its full effect.

The Russians, forced, at last, to quit the field of battle, formed themselves into a square, in order to cover the remaining part of their baggage; and passed the night in that position: the darkness of the night obliging both parties to cease hostilities; which the King, who likewise maintained his ground, renewed next morning by a cannonade. But the Russians soon gave way, abandoning their artillery and a great number of colours, standards, &c. The King did not give them

them time nor opportunity to recover; but harassed them, all day, on every quarter. Neither could he put a stop to the effusion of blood. The cruelties of all sorts committed by the enemy, and the sight of the many villages round about, which the Russians had set on fire, irritated the soldiers to such a degree, that it was almost impossible to put a stop to their fury.

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Great dependance had been placed, by the confederates against Prussia, on the success of this day. If victory should declare against Prussia, her monarch must have submitted to the terms of the confederacy. If the fortune of the day should turn in favour of Prussia, it was to be feared, not only that his Prussian Majesty would return with more vigour and strength, to complete his scheme in Saxony and Bohemia, but that the Russians would be dispirited, and brought with difficulty, if at all, back to favour their operations this campaign. Therefore, when the news of this battle was carried to Vienna, that court had the address, or rather the confidence, to decide the fate of the arms, in this engagement, in favour of their confederate Russians, in order to keep the Czarina in good temper towards her engagements^x: but what

Depend-
ance of the
Austrians
on this
battle.

Misrepré-
sented by
the court
of Vienna.

^x The account, which the court of Vienna has thought fit to publish of this affair, is to this effect: "That on the 25th of last month the Prussians came up at nine in the morning to attack the Russians, who, in order of battle, waited for them; but the first charge succeeded so ill, that the former were repulsed with great loss. The King afterwards made a new attack, which succeeded no better than the first. In fine, these

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what is most surprising, the very general that wrote to Count Dohna, for leave to bury his dead, asserts his claim to the victory of this day, in a letter to the Russian minister at the Hague^r.

The

two attempts having proved fruitless, the King, by a most rapid motion, brought all his cavalry to the center; and having thus changed the order of battle, he caused his cavalry to ride full gallop against the center of the Russian army, whereby he separated the two wings of this army, and forced the left to fall back into the morasses that lay behind it.

“ While this wing was in that perplexing situation, it ceased not firing upon its adversaries, till a large detachment from the right came to its assistance. This relief enabled it to charge in turn, and drive the enemy, who were pursued in such a manner, that the same day, the 25th, it was just in the same position as at the beginning of the battle. The 26th, *Te Deum* was sung in the Russian army, which irritated the King of Prussia to such a degree, that he immediately ordered his army to advance, but was so well received by the Russians, that he thought fit to order a retreat: yet, he made his troops return a second time to the charge, but they were repulsed again.

“ This relation, which one may look upon as certain, and bearing all the marks of strictest truth, shews how censurable the Berlin Gazetteer is, for continuing to maintain facts absolutely invented, and the strange exaggeration which he has presumed to utter on this event.”

^r The letter which Count Goloffkin, the Russian minister at the Hague, received on this occasion, was to the following effect.

Head Quarters at Gros Camin, August 31.

“ I have the honour to inform your excellency, that on the 25th of this month there was a bloody battle between the army under my command, and that of Prussia, commanded by the King in person, which lasted from nine in the morning

The Prussians challenged the victory, and assert that their loss did not exceed 2000 men killed, wounded and prisoners: but make the loss of the Russians 10,000 killed, 10,000 wounded, and most of them mortally, and about 2000 prisoners: besides an immense train of artillery, thirty-seven colours, five standards, several kettle-drums, and their military chest, containing 200,000*l.* sterling in specie.

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1758.

Loss on
both sides.

Not only these extraordinary losses evidence the right of victory in favour of his Prussian Majesty; but it is clear from the consequences. The King delivered that part of his dominions from his enemies for the present; and was at liberty to march directly to the assistance of his brother. Besides the number of prisoners of rank, amongst whom were several generals, the loss of so great a train of artillery, and the necessity the Russians were under, to beg leave to bury their dead^z, are corroborating

ing till ten at night, when the enemy abandoned the field of battle, and retired. The next day we buried the slain. We have taken twenty-six pieces of cannon, and a great number of standards and colours from the enemy. I am with the army in sight of the enemy, and only wait for M. de Romanzow's division, which is to join me to-morrow, to pursue and entirely disperse the Prussians. I do not send you at this time the journal of the army, being too busy at present, but will not fail to acquaint your Excellency with what may afterwards happen.

FERMER.

^z Letter from General Fermer to Count Dobna.

“ As this day's battle hath left many dead to be buried, and many wounded men to be dressed on both sides, I have

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roborating circumstances to confirm the truth of the Prussian account of the battle and victory over the Russian army near Custrin^a.

His

thought proper to ask your excellency, whether it would not be fit to conclude a suspension of arms, for two or three days? General Brown, who is extremely weak, by reason of his wounds, having need of a room, and other conveniencies, which are necessary in his present situation, most humbly intreats his Majesty to send a passport for him and his attendants, that he may remove to a proper place. I have the honour to be, &c.

Camp, August 14,
(25, N. S.) 1758.

Count FERMER.

Count Dohna's Answer.

" I have the honour to answer the letter, which your Excellency was pleased to write to me yesterday; and, in consequence of it, to inform you, that the King, my master, having gained the battle, and remained master of the field, his Majesty will not fail to give the necessary orders for burying the dead, and taking care of the wounded of both sides. His Majesty thinks, that a suspension of arms is usual, in the case of a siege, but not after a battle. His excellency General Brown, if still alive, shall have the passports he asks most readily; and all possible relief shall be given to the other generals, who are prisoners.

The cruel burning of villages, which is not yet discontinued, shews an intention not to spare the King's estates in any shape: But I shall not now enter into repetitions, on a subject I have so often mentioned. I shall only desire your Excellency to consider, what consequences such cruelties may have, if a stop be not put to them. I have the honour to be, &c.

Camp, Aug. 26, 1758.

Count DOHNA:

^a His Prussian Majesty's letter to his ministers abroad, was conceived in the following terms.

August 26.

" I would not defer for a moment giving you notice of the complete victory which heaven has just granted to my arms
over

His Prussian Majesty was equally as expeditious in his return, as he had been rapid in his march to Custrin. His absence was no sooner known in

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1758.

The Auf-
trians take
advantage
of his Ma-
jesty's ab-
sence.

Bohe-

over the grand Russian army, commanded by General Fermer. The battle was fought yesterday, the 25th, between Custrin and Tumbel. As I had to do with an army greatly superior, and provided with a very numerous artillery, the engagement was long and obstinate, and lasted till the close of night; but the defeat of the enemy hath been the greater and more decisive. Time will not permit me to enter into a detail of the circumstances of this action; I shall reserve a more ample account of it till next post. All I can tell you now is, that the loss of the Russians is very great. I have taken three of their lieutenant-generals, many cannon, and their military chest. My troops fought with uncommon bravery, and like men who defended their country. These are the first circumstances I can give you of this great event, which will give a new face to affairs, and in which heaven seems to have interposed so remarkably, in order to enable me to disappoint the destructive projects which my enemies had formed for the devastation and ruin of my dominions.

FREDERICK.

This letter was soon after followed by a second.

Luben, Sept. 5:

"I have at length reaped the fruits of my last victory over the Russians. Superior as they were in number, even after their defeat, they took an advantageous camp three leagues from the field of battle, where they halted till the 31st of August, to collect the run-aways, and secure their retreat. On that day they at last took a resolution to retreat towards Poland, by Lansberg, after setting fire to the greatest part of their baggage. I have sent General Manteuffel in pursuit of them; and General Malchowsky hath already had an opportunity to fall upon their rear, and hath taken three pieces of cannon.

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Bohemia, than the armies of Austrians, Saxons and Imperialists, which dreaded every motion of his troops, swarmed about the little army he had left, under the command of his brother Henry, at Dippolswalde; and marched with full hopes of making themselves masters of Saxony, Silesia, and even of Brandenburg and Lusatia. M. Daun undertook Prince Henry, and, quitting his strong encampment in the mountains, he brought his army to Stolpen, east of the Elbe, to cut off all communication with Dresden, and to favour the operations of his party. General Laudohn was detached to pillage the circle of Cotbus, &c. which he performed with great licentiousness. The Duke of Deux Ponts, who commanded the army of the Empire, entered Saxony, and made himself master of Pirna, and of the strong fortress of Sornenstein.

Never did a general make such long and flying marches, in so small a space of time. Never did a powerful enemy discover greater tokens of fear, than his enemies, at his return. His Prussian

“ Whilst I was employed against the Russians, Marshal Daun, as well as the Prince of Deux-Ponts, advanced with all their forces, to the Elbe, to surround my brother Henry, which hath determined me to commit the further operations against the Russians to Count Dohna, and again to turn myself against the Austrians. I left the camp at Custrin on the 2d instant, and am marching to Lusatia, bringing with me a good body of forces. I have reached Luben this day, the 5th, and I expect to arrive soon enough to disengage my brother Henry, and disconcert the vast projects of the Austrians.

FREDERICK.”

Majesty

Majesty reached Grassenheyn, with twenty-four battalions and a great body of cavalry, on the 9th of September, and Dresden on the eleventh. As his Majesty advanced, the Austrians withdrew from the frontiers of Brandenburg; General Laudohn abandoned all the Lower Lusatia, and even the fortress of Peitz. Marshal Daun retired from the neighbourhood of Dresden, and fell back as far as Zittau ^b.

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Fly at his
return.

The

^b Marshal Daun, having taken advantage of the King's absence, who was gone to fight the Russians, to fall upon Saxony with all his forces, in the month of July last, the army of the empire having entered it on another side, by Peterswalde, Count Schmettau, governor of Dresden, thought that place in such imminent danger, that he found himself indispensably obliged to take every possible measure to guard against a surprise, and to hinder the Austrians from carrying the place by a coup de main. An enterprize of this nature would have been the more easy, as most of the houses of the suburbs, from the gate of Pirna to that of Wilsdruff, absolutely command the body of the town, both by their prodigious height, being six or seven stories high, and by their proximity to the rampart. From this consideration Count Schmettau caused it to be declared to the court, by M. de Bose, chief cup-bearer, that as soon as the enemy should make a shew of attacking Dresden, he would find himself under the disagreeable necessity of burning the suburbs; and that, for that end, he had just put combustible matters in the highest houses, and those next the rampart, that his orders for that purpose might be speedily executed, whenever the reasons of war obliged him to issue them, in his own defence. The same declaration was made to the magistrates, the governor having sent for the burgo-master to come to him. The court and the city earnestly implored, that this misfortune might be averted from the inhabitants; but the governor insisted, that it would be indis-

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The
King's
operations.

These motions were strong indications of terror; but an oversight in the encampment of the Prussian army soon changed the scene, and spirited up Count Daun into a resolution to surprize their right flank. Though his Prussian Majesty had joined his brother, he was not in a condition to dislodge the Imperialists from the strong camp

penfably necessary to come to that extremity, if the enemy themselves would pay no respect to the royal residence; and caused every thing to be got ready for the execution of his threats.

Mean while the city, as well as the states of Saxony, who were then assembled at Dresden, sent a deputation to M. de Borcke, the King's minister, to intreat him to intercede with the governor in their behalf. M. de Borcke, after conferring with Count Schmettau, answered them, that it depended on the court and the city themselves, to prevent the attacking of Dresden; but that if the Austrians should attack it, it would be impossible to spare the suburbs, the houses of which commanded the ramparts, the governor having exprefs orders to defend himself to the last extremity. The minister, at the same time, pointed out to them the imminent danger to which the city and the castle, and even the royal family, would be exposed, if he should be forced to come to that extremity, as the fire of the suburb could not fail, without a miracle, to reach the town and make terrible havock: He at the same time conjured the deputies of the states, to use their utmost endeavours to divert the storm, and not to consider the governor's declaration as a vain threat, for he could assure them, upon his honour, that upon the firing of the first cannon against the town, they would see the suburbs on fire.

Marshal Daun happily changed his resolution, upon the King's approach, who was returning victorious from Zorn-dorff; and the governor of Dresden, yielding to the entreaties of the inhabitants, ordered the combustible matters, with which he had filled the houses, to be removed.

at Pirna; nor to attack M. Daun, encamped more strongly at Stolpen, with bridges of communication cast over the Elbe. He had no hopes in any other means, than so to place himself, as to be able to cut off their provisions. With this intention his Majesty marched to Bautzen, in which station he could communicate with Prince Henry's army, cover Brandenburg and succour Silesia; which obliged Daun to retreat to Zittau; and from thence to Rittlitz; in hopes of some favourable circumstance to enable him to attack the Prussians with advantage, or to prevent the King from succouring Silesia, where the siege of Neis was formed. As the Austrian general retired, Austrians retreat. his Majesty advanced, with the like hopes to force him to a battle, or to penetrate into Silesia. General Retzow was, for that purpose, detached to take possession of Weissenberg, which he effected. The whole army marched, dispossessed the Austrians from the village of Huchkirchen, and encamped in its neighbourhood: but neglected to occupy King's oversight. the heights, that commanded that village. M. Daun takes the advantage. This oversight was readily improved by M. Daun. By this way it was possible to penetrate through the flank of the enemy: and that was sufficient to disconcert, and in all probability, to ruin the whole Prussian army. The cautious Daun seized the opportunity, and concerted measures with the Imperial general, for carrying his design into execution; employed the flower of his whole army in this important service, and pitched upon a very dark night for the surprize. The night between
the

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Attacks
him in his
tents.

How con-
ducted.

M. Keith
killed.

King of
Prussia's
conduct
and bra-
very.

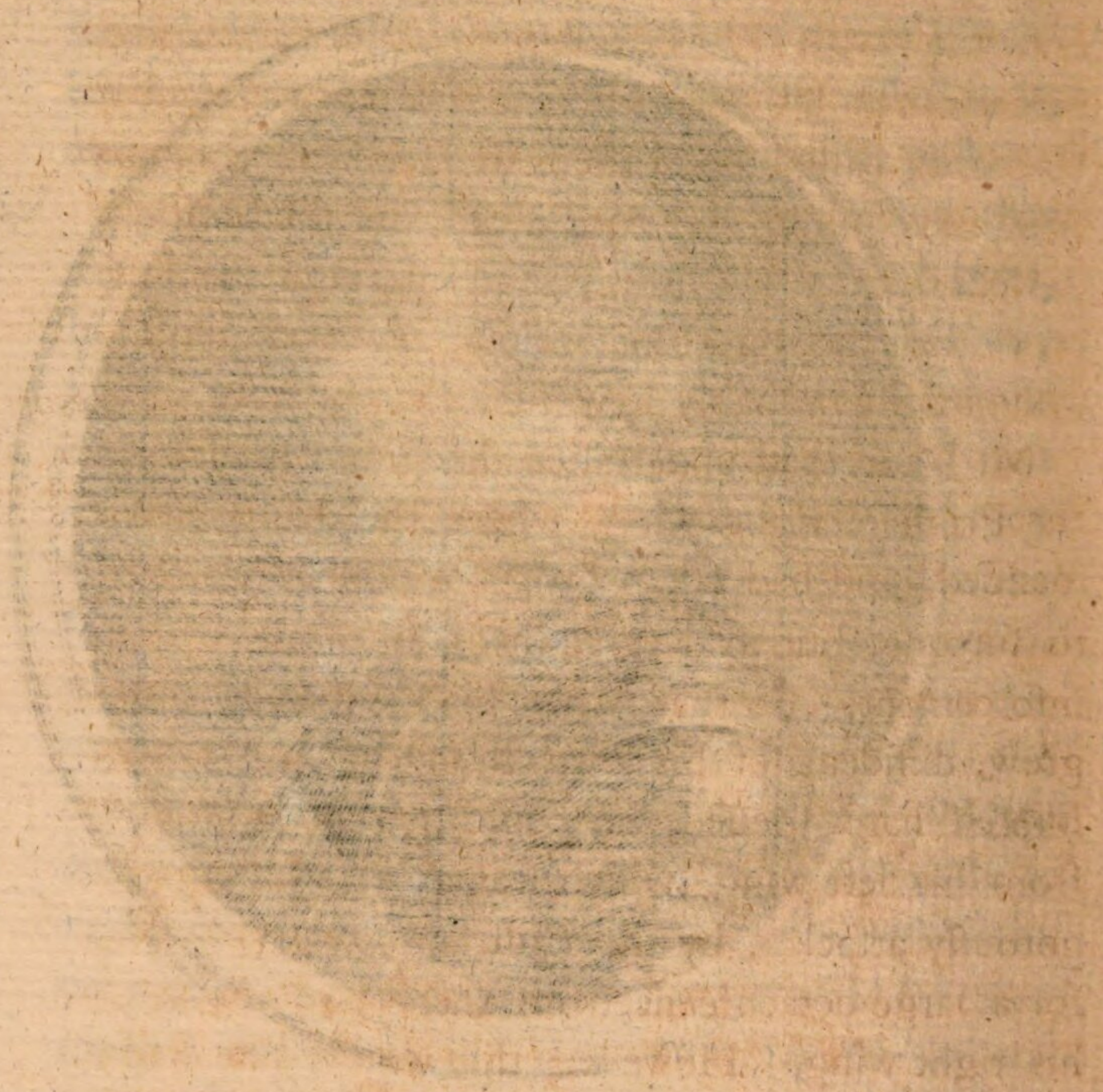
the 13th and 14th of October, favoured his design. It was not only dark, but very foggy. The troops moved, in three columns, with great secrecy, and after gaining the heights, above-mentioned, they poured down upon the village of Huchkirchen, cut to pieces a few companies posted in it, and gained possession of that advantageous post.

This shock was so sudden and unexpected that the Prussians had not time to strike their tents, before the enemy was furiously cutting their way in the midst of their camp. The three columns were so well conducted, that they arrived at their respective stations without confusion, before they were discovered. The Prussians ran to their arms half naked; and without any order. The action began at Huchkirchen about four o'clock in the morning, and was continued some time before the King was sufficiently apprized thereof. However, his general officers in that quarter made a vigorous stand, and without regard to precedence or regiment, assembled, arranged and led the troops, that could get their arms, up to the attack. In the beginning of this engagement Marshal Keith was killed by two musket-balls; and Prince Francis, of Brunswick, lost his head by a cannon-ball, as he was mounting his horse. The loss of two such principal commanders increased the danger, as well as difficulties of this battle. The King had the whole conduct upon his own hands, when he most wanted assistance.

The King, alarmed in the midst of an horrid carnage, exerted all his personal activity, recol-
lection



FIELD MARSHAL KEITH.



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lection and addrefs, and made the beft difpofitions, and opposed the efforts of the enemy in the beft manner he could, in fo dark a night and fuch confufion. He was prefent every where, animating his troops with the greateft prefence of mind, and by expofing his own perfon to the fame dangers, which he called upon them to face. A conduct that ferved him in more ftead, at that critical juncture, than his arms; and in fome measure prevented the unfortunate blow, under which his caufe might probably have funk.

M. Daun had undertaken the grand attack of the Pruffian right wing, where the King commanded, and had taken proper measures not only to furprife, but to deprive it of all means of reinforcement. So that, when his Pruffian Majesty grew diffident of his own ftrength, and found himfelf hard preffed, he could get no affiftance from his left wing, which was at that inftant vigorously attacked by the Austrians, when he fent for a large detachment from thence, to reinforce his right wing. However, this would not have been fufficient to oblige him to retreat, had the attack on the village of Huchkirchen failed. The poffeffion of this poft determined the fate of the day. The difpute was hotteft there. M. Daun charged General Laudhon with that part of the attack. This general, as above, furprized the free companies in it, and cut them to pieces. The Pruffians, fenfible of the importance of this village, attacked the Austrians with the utmoft fury; but they were repulfed, once, twice and thrice, with

Not able
to draw
help from
his left
wing.

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with equal bravery on both sides. Yet a fourth assault carried the post after a most obstinate and bloody dispute. M. Daun's scheme depending chiefly on the possession of this village, he was then resolved to make every possible effort to regain it; and by reiterated attacks, with fresh troops continually pouring down upon it, he drove the Prussians out, at last, but not without an exceeding great loss of his men.

Resolves to
retreat.

Thus deprived of his best officers; not in a condition to draw any advantage from his left; driven out of his most important post; having lost a great number of men and officers; and despairing of victory, his Majesty resolved to retreat about nine o'clock in the morning: and though the soldiers had never been properly drawn up in order, and were embarrassed by their tents, which continued standing during the whole action, the retreat was performed in good order, and without further loss, to the astonishment of all, under the cover of a great fire from the Prussian artillery, which on that occasion was placed in the center of his van.

In good
order,

Remarks
on this ac-
tion.

There is something extremely surprizing throughout this whole affair: and from every point rays of glory encircle his Prussian Majesty. Here we read of an army under the command of the greatest generals of the age, surprized in such a fatal manner, that the out-guards could not give the alarm of the enemy's approach. Here also we read of an inferior army surprized in their sleep; running half naked to their arms; recovering

recovering their order; fighting desperately for five hours, and at last making such an orderly retreat, that the enemy durst not pursue. Here the King's generalship appeared with the greatest lustre, when he most wanted wisdom and courage. The wing attacked was at a great distance from his own quarters: two of his principal commanders of it were slain at the first onset; others were taken prisoners; the whole wing were ready to turn their backs upon the enemy: yet his Majesty galloped up to the seat of greatest danger, drew some regularity from disorder, arranged the different corps, altered positions, reinforced weak posts, encouraged the soldiery; twice repulsed the enemy; attacked them four times; and being overborn only by numbers and fatigue, made an orderly retreat. These are actions that were never found in any general before, and are to be looked for only in that grand resource of military abilities the King of Prussia.

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His Prussian Majesty fell back with his right wing to Weissenbourg: his left remained at Bautzem: and he fixed his head quarters at Doberchutetz or Deebruchutz; from whence he wrote to all his ministers at foreign courts, "Having acquainted you by the last^c post with the first circumstances

His own
account of
this battle.

^c Whitehall, October 24.

This morning a messenger arrived at the Earl of Holderness's office, with letters from Andrew Mitchell, Esq; his Majesty's minister to the King of Prussia, dated the 16th instant from Dresden, importing,

That

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“ circumstances of the action on the 14th, I now
“ send the annexed relation^d of that affair, which
“ you

That on the 14th, at four in the morning, the right wing of the Prussian army, encamped at Hoh-Kirch, was unexpectedly attacked by the Austrians, and put into some confusion; but that the brave resistance made by the regiments of the Margrave Charles, and the Prince of Prussia, gave time to the rest of the troops to get under arms; and that, the King of Prussia coming in person to that part of the army, the enemy was repulsed. His Prussian Majesty afterwards thought proper to remove his camp from Hoh-Kirch, and retire with his right wing towards Budissin; so that the post it now occupies, is between Budissin and Weissenburg, with the head quarters at Deebruchutz.

Marshal Keith, and Prince Francis of Brunswick, were unfortunately killed in the confusion at the beginning of the action. Prince Maurice of Dessau, and Major-General Geist, are slightly wounded.

^d *An authentic relation, by the King of Prussia, of the battle on the 11th instant.*

In the night between the 13th and 14th, M. Daun attacked our right, and as, besides the obscurity of the night, which was extremely dark, there was a very thick fog, the pandours, having dislodged our battalion franc, which were at the extremity of our flank, slipped by into the village and set it on fire, which obliged the battalion that covered the flank of the village to abandon it and retire to some distance; the Austrians made several attempts to get by the village, but were repulsed as well by our infantry as our cavalry: at the same time General Retzow, was attacked by the Prince of Durlach, but after having repulsed the enemy and taken 300 prisoners, he came to join the army, of which the left was attacked at the same time that it had received orders to re-inforce the right. In consequence of these orders, the battalion de Seleist was detached, and had nearly effected its purpose, but being too far advanced, to repulse the enemy, could not re-join the army,
and

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“ you may boldly publish in the place where you
“ are, as an authentic piece, written according to
“ the most exact truth; in which I own my loss,

and was therefore obliged to throw down their arms. The post on the right had been sustained four hours and a half, and it was ten o'clock in the morning when our army received orders to retire. General Retzow joined it, and it now occupies the post of Biertitz and Dobreschutz. We have lost Marshal Keith and Prince Francis of Brunswick, who can never be sufficiently regretted. Prince Maurice of Anhalt is wounded, and as he was going to Bautzen in a coach was taken prisoner. General de Geist is wounded in the arm, and Crockrow of the curassiers in the shoulder.

The King, the Margrave, and all the generals present in the action, received contusions, or had horses shot under them. We cannot exactly estimate our loss, but are sure it does not exceed 3000. The darkness of the night prevented the regiment on the right from striking their tents, which greatly incommoded them, and in consequence of which they fell into the enemy's hands; these, however, are misfortunes which in the chances of war, are sometimes inevitable. We have about 500 of the enemy prisoners, among whom is the General, Marquis de Vitteleschi. We hope soon to give the public better news.—To this relation it may be added, that since the writing of it our loss is much diminished by the return of a great number of soldiers, who were scattered in the confusion. The loss of the enemy is known to be far more considerable than ours.

The Russian army is decamped from Stargard and is marching with great precipitation by Reetz and Kalies, two towns in the New Marche, on the frontiers of Poland.

Marshal Keith was shot dead the first discharge of the enemy's musquetry. He received the bullet in his breast, dropped down, and never spoke a word afterward.

Prince Francis of Brunswick received his death by a cannon ball, which carried off his head just as he was mounting his horse.

“ which

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“ which is not great, without having recourse to
 “ such falsities as the court of Vienna and Peterf-
 “ burg usually spread on such occasions. You see
 “ also by this detail that it was not a battle, but
 “ an attack of posts only ; by which the Austrians
 “ gained no other advantage, than that of dislodg-
 “ ing my troops from an eminence, without daring
 “ to follow me, and without being able to force
 “ me to retire above half a league, where I keep
 “ my ground and wait for them, ready to begin a
 “ second engagement, as soon as the opportunity
 “ offers. It is certain that the loss of the enemy
 “ is much greater than mine ; a circumstance, of
 “ which you will not fail to avail yourself: that
 “ the Austrians may not impose upon the public
 “ by false and exaggerated relations.”

Consider

• The reader may judge of the justness of his Prussian Ma-
 jesty's remarks by the account that follows, first published in
 the Brussels Gazette, October 30.

*Account of the battle fought the 14th of October, 1758, at Hoch-
 Kirchen in Lusatia, by the Imperial and Royal army under Field-
 Marshal Count Daun, and of the complete victory it obtained
 over that of the King of Prussia, commanded by the King in
 person.*

“ The enemy marched on the 10th instant, and came and
 encamped in sight of the imperial and royal army, their right
 occupying the eminences of Hoch-Kirchen, and their left ex-
 tending to Kottitz. The King of Prussia made the more
 haste to take that position, as he judged it most necessary both
 to secure the communication with Silesia, by Gorlitz, and also
 to support the body of troops, about 8000 strong, which oc-
 cupied the advantageous camp of Weissenberg, and which we
 resolved to attack on the 11th, and cut off from the main body
 of

Consider this representation of the affair at Hock-kerchen, and it will be found that his Prussian Majesty's

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of the army. This motion of the King determined the Marshal to advance his right: he caused the hill of Stromberg to be immediately occupied by five battalions, and the village of Glosse by four battalions of grenadiers. Both these posts could be supported by the right wing of the army. There was no time to lose in taking this position, which hindered the Prussians from marching to Gorlitz, without giving them battle. The King advanced towards the imperial and royal army; and at the same time the corps of Weissenberg made a motion to take possession of the hill of Stromberg, and consequently of the road to Gorlitz; but seeing their design prevented, this corps returned to their former post.

On the 11th, the Marshal reconnoitred the position of the enemy, and resolved to attack their right wing, though covered by the eminences, and the post of Hoch-Kirchen. The intrenchments and batteries upon the eminences, and at the village of Hoch-Kirchen, on which the King made his men work continually, rendered the execution of this design very difficult. To make it succeed, it was necessary to find a way through the thick woods behind our army, to come at the enemy with advantage. To judge by the event, it should seem, that the King of Prussia never dreamt of the possibility of such an enterprize. The advantageous position of the imperial and royal army seemed indeed to render it most expedient to wait for the enemy, who could not execute their design without coming to a general action; but as soon as the marshal was informed, that the obstacle, occasioned by the difficulty of the roads, might be removed, the ardour of the officers and private men, who were most eager to engage, and the security of the enemy, who by their motions appeared to have not the least expectation of being attacked, confirmed him in the resolution to begin the attack, notwithstanding the great difficulties he had to surmount.

The Marshal no sooner laid these motives before the general officers of his army, than an attack was unanimously re-

A. D. 1758. Majesty's greatest loss happened in the death of his favourite general M. Keith. This was an irreparable

solved on. It was to have been executed the 13th; but the large compass which the artillery was obliged to make, and the obstacles which stood in the way of some dispositions necessary for securing the success of the enterprize, made it be deferred till next day. The more to deceive the King of Prussia, the marshal had on the 11th caused barricades of trees to be made in the wood on his left, that is to say, opposite to the right wing of the enemy; and redoubts to be raised at proper distances along the front of his own army. At the same time M. de Laudohn had orders to post himself near this wood.

All these dispositions being at last completed, the Marshal's plan was executed with all possible exactness. The different columns and the artillery, destined for the attack, having traversed the woods by very difficult roads, arrived about four in the morning, within gun shot of the advanced posts of the enemy, without being perceived. At five o'clock all the columns attacked at once; and though some deserters had gone over to the enemy in the night, their reports only served to increase their security; for all that they could tell them was, that our left marched backwards. Before day-light the advanced guards of the columns, and the corps under M. de Laudohn, had with great bravery made themselves masters of the post of Hoch-Kirchen, and also of the eminences behind the camp. At day-break our foot were possessed of the eminences, and were formed in order of battle in the very camp of the Prussians. A few minutes after this the Duke of Aremberg attacked their left, and made himself master also of the redoubts the enemy had there. Notwithstanding the obstinate defence of the enemy, they were forced to yield to the vivacity of the attack made by our infantry, which, without being supported by artillery, broke their ranks in some places sword in hand, in others with their bayonets fixed.

Our van-guard and grenadiers seeing the enemy driven from Hoch-Kirchen, and their right retiring, listening only to the
ardour

reparable misfortune to lose so great a master experienced in the art of war. But every other damage

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ardour of their zeal, pursued them, contrary to the Marshal's express orders. Mean time the enemy's infantry rallied, and obliged ours to retire. At the same instant Hoch-Kirchen was attacked by the flower of the Prussian troops, and the fire of the artillery and small arms began to be extremely hot.

The enemy, after returning three times to the charge, at length made themselves masters of part of the village: but as the fate of the day depended upon that post, they met with the most vigorous resistance. To sustain this post, the regiments of Clerici, Bathyani, Stachtenberg, Vieux-Colloredo, and after them those of Arbers, Los-Rios, and Puella, were made to advance successively, as also the carabiniers and horse grenadiers, under the command of the Count d'Ayfras. The regiment of Clerici suffered greatly on this occasion; but that of Bathyani took four colours, and 300 prisoners. Whilst the marshal was doing his utmost to support our troops at Hoch-Kirchen, the rest of our left kept a continual fire upon the enemy without coming to a close engagement, till they were sure that we should be absolutely masters of that important post. The unshaken firmness of the imperial and royal troops having at length deprived the Prussians of all hope of retaking it, they retired under the fire of a numerous artillery, which was placed in the center of their camp. Field-Marshal Keith, who commanded the right of the enemy in this bloody battle, was killed, as were Prince Francis of Brunswick and General Kleist. The former was interred, after the battle, with all the honours due to his rank.

While the battle was fought with so great warmth on that side, the horse of our left were forced to give way; but by the indefatigable zeal of Count O'Donnel, general of horse, and the other generals, they were immediately rallied; Count Laschy, on his side, with five companies of horse grenadiers and carabiniers, draughted from the regiments of Deux-Ponts, O'Donnel, Serbelloni, Anspach, and Buccow, fell upon the

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damage of his army might be easily repaired. Therefore we see his Majesty waiting for the enemy

enemy's foot which were marching against our left. The bravery of these troops soon recovered our former advantages, and the conduct of the general, who commanded them, greatly contributed to the success of the action. M. de Tillier, major-general, merits the same praise. Both displayed, on this memorable day, no less skill than bravery.

The terrible fire of the Prussian artillery and small arms having greatly thinned the ranks of our foot, the marshal made them close as much as possible, and again led them against the enemy. At the same time, Baron Buccow and the Duke of Aremberg, forced their way through defiles, which they had orders to pass; and the continual fire they made upon the enemy, forced them to retire. A part of the infantry and cavalry, which composed the corps at Weissenberg, attempted to go to the assistance of the left of the Prussians: but Baron Buccow immediately caused the regiments of O'Donnel and Anhalt Zerbst, commanded by the Generals Count de Zollern and Bettow, to advance, who attacked the head of this reinforcement with so much vigour, that it was no sooner attacked, than routed.

Seeing themselves thus vanquished on every side, not by superiority of numbers, but solely by the valour of our troops, the enemy retired, to gain the eminences behind them, which favoured their retreat. At nine o'clock their fire slackened considerably, and they wholly retired to the plain of Predlitz, where the good countenance of their cavalry gave the rest of their army time to form.

All was over by ten, and the Marshal sent M. de Laudohn, with three regiments of dragoons, viz. those of Lowenstein Deux-Ponts, and Darmstadt, to pursue the enemy.

We took the whole camp of the Prussians and all their baggage. The regiments of their right wing had scarce time to take up their arms. The number of cannon we took at the beginning of the affair, during the action, and in the pursuit, amounts

my at about half a league distance from the field of battle, (if this attack of posts may be allowed that name) and daring the Austrians to return to the charge, but without effect. Daun resumed his old scheme of acting upon the defensive. He had paid very dear, in this last affair, for hazarding an attack under the most favourable circumstances to promise him success. Having missed of his aim, where he fought with every advantage on his side; he dared not risk another battle, upon equal terms,

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M. Daun's
conduct
after the
battle.

amounts to 101, among which are eight 24, and thirty-seven 12 pounders. A great quantity of ammunition and warlike implements have also fallen into our hands, and more are still bringing in, as well as artillery. We have taken upwards of 28 colours and two standards from the enemy. These undoubted proofs of victory were presented on the 18th to their Imperial and Royal Majesties by M. de Tillier.

We may compute the loss of the enemy already, in killed, wounded, and deserters, at 10,000 at least. We cannot justly tell what our loss is.

The great number of dead that covered the ground, and the cold, which began to be very severe, determined the marshal to make the troops, already greatly fatigued, return to their old camp. His excellency, however, left the brigade of Count Colloredo, with the companies of grenadiers and carabiniers, on the field of battle, to bury the dead, and take care of the wounded. The camp, of which we made ourselves masters, was given up to be pillaged. According to the advices we have received, the enemy encamped the night after the battle at Klein Bautzen."

By a list annexed to the above relation, the Austrians make the total of their killed 1020; and of their wounded 3972, the missing not mentioned. Thus by the Austrian accounts of their loss, it exceeded that of the Prussians by some thousands, the whole loss of the latter in killed, wounded and missing, being only 3000 men.

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with a general and an army, rendered more vigilant and resolute by the check they had received, and eager to wipe off that imaginary disgrace of suffering an enemy, that flew from them by day, to surprize them asleep in their tents, like thieves, under the cover of the night. For, this very Daun, who boasted of his dubious victory, instead of pursuing the Prussians, or seeking to improve his pretended success in the late action, entrenched his forces up to the teeth, and fortified himself with a numerous artillery on the eminences about his camp, to secure his army from an attack, by those he vainly represented to be a vanquished enemy,

King of
Prussia's
conduct.

His Prussian Majesty in this situation, having no hopes to draw the Austrians to a fair engagement, and taught, by experience, the danger of attacking them in such an advantageous camp: seeing also the necessity of his immediate assistance both in Saxony, to counteract the united force of the Austrians and Imperialists, and in Silesia, already over-run by the Austrians, and upon the eve of forcing Neiss to surrender to his enemies, determined in this dilemma, not to watch the uncertain motions of M. Daun, nor to prefer the covering of Saxony, to his more important interest in Silesia, he ordered a large detachment to march under Prince Henry from Saxony, to enable him to raise the siege of Neiss, and on the 24th of October, broke up his own camp at Doherschütz, and marched to Gorlitz. However, this was not done with that secrecy, but Daun was

Marches
to the re-
lief of
Neiss.

soon

soon apprized of it, and penetrated into the King's intention. Gorlitz was a post, which would give the party in possession a considerable advantage. The Austrian general therefore made a push to secure it before the Prussians: But they got no further than Landsron. Here a skirmish ensued with the Prussian vanguard. The Austrians were worsted and lost 800 men; by which Daun lost all the advantages gained at Hochkirchen, and his advantageous encampment after that action. General Laudohn was detached with 24,000 men to follow the Prussians, but with no effect. The road was entirely open from Gorlitz into Silesia, and his Prussian Majesty pursued his march without any material interruption to Nossen in the neighbourhood of Neiss; where his whole army arrived on the 6th of November.

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Pursued
by the
Austrians.

Austrians
worsted.

Neiss had been invested ever since the 4th of August, and prosecuted with the utmost vigour by the Generals Harsch and de Ville, from the 3d of October. The garrison defended it with the greatest bravery, determined not to surrender without the King's special order; who, to their great joy, advanced to their relief on the 7th of November. The Austrian General immediately raised the siege, leaving a considerable quantity of ammunition and stores behind him^f, and re-

The King
arrives in
the neigh-
bourhood
of Neiss.

Siege of
Neiss rais-
ed.

^f 22,000 cannon balls of 24 lb. wt. 23,000 ditto of 12 lb. wt. 1700 bomb shells of 75 lb. wt. 3900 ditto 50 lb. wt. 6100 ditto of 30 lb. wt. 6000 ditto of 10 and 7 lb. wt. 200,000 granadoes; 500 iron crows, 1000 joists, 500 thick planks for batteries, and 10 gunpowder magazines.

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The Au-
strians pur-
sued.

Retire from
before Co-
sel,

M. Daun
meditates
the reduc-
tion of
Saxony.

Marches
to Dresden.

passed the Neiss; but not without considerable loss; for General Treskow, the governor of Neiss, who had behaved with so much gallantry and conduct in the siege, fell out upon the fugitives, and cut between seven and 800 pandours to pieces.

The Austrians, who had blockaded Cosel for some time, received the panic, and made the best of their way to join the army retired from before Neiss; and these united retreated with great precipitation into Austrian Silesia and Bohemia.

Thus the main point, which was laboured by M. Daun, to prevent the King of Prussia's raising the siege of Neiss, after the action at Hockkirchen, being rendered abortive; his next point in view was to take the advantage of his Majesty's absence, and the considerable distance of his army, to wrest Saxony out of his possession. So that having failed of securing the pass at Gorlitz, the Austrian General, formed a scheme to reduce Dresden, Leipstick, and Torgau. For this purpose, he undertook Dresden with the main body of his own army: he committed the reduction of Leipstick, to the Prince de Deuxponts: and Torgau, to a corps under General Haddick: on a presumption, that Prince Henry had not sufficient strength to maintain his ground.

Intent upon this plan of operations, and having no force to obstruct his march, Count Daun, on the 6th of November, passed the Elbe at Pirna, with 60,000 men, in expectation of the surrender of Dresden upon his appearance. The army of the Empire had cut off Prince Henry's communication

nication with Leipſick, and had alſo inveſted it. A. D. 1758.
General Haddick marched with all expedition to Torgau.

Prince Henry in theſe ſtraits, threw himſelf into the city of Dresden, and retired to the otherſide of the Elbe, and left General Schmettau, with 12,000 men, to defend the city, of great extent and badly fortified. The Austrian General, on the 7th, the very day his Prussian Majesty raiſed the ſiege of Neiſs, convinced the governor, that his deſign was againſt the capital, and drove him to the neceſſity to replace the combuſtibles in the houſes of the ſuburbs, which ſurround the city ditch and command the ramparts, and had been removed in the July preceeding, when Daun retired from before that city, on the approach of the King of Prussia, in his return from chaſtiſing the Ruſſians near Cuſtrin.

Prince Henry retreats.

Daun appears before Dresden.

The governor prepares for its defence.

The neceſſity of this reſolution is accounted for, from the weakneſs of the ſuburbs; it being impoſſible for the governor to prevent the enemy's getting poſſeſſion of them by a coup de main; moſt of the houſes within the ſuburbs, from the gate of Pirna to the gate of Wilsdruff, commanding the body of the town, not only by their proximity to the ramparts, but by their prodigious height of ſeven and eight ſtories. However this was a moſt deplorable expedient to ſave the city. For, theſe ſuburbs were equal to one of the fineſt cities in Europe, and much ſuperior to Dresden within the walls; both on account of its ſtately buildings, inhabitants, and curious manufactories.

Reasons for burning the ſuburbs.

The

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1758.

The governor gives notice of this resolution.

The answer of the Saxon court.

Out guards placed.

Endeavours to prevent the ruin of the suburbs.

The governor informed the court, by M. de Bose, the chief cup-bearer, of his resolution, That if the enemy's army should approach the suburbs, he would that instant set fire to them. Who received for answer, That the hands of the court being tied, they were obliged to acquiesce in all circumstances, and wait the last extremities; therefore the governor might follow the motion of his own will, or do whatever he thought he could answer. Accordingly on the 8th, the enemy's advanced troops having attacked the hussars and independent battalions, posted at Streissen and Gruene-Wiese, and the Austrians might find means, as the night drew on, to find their way pell-mell into the suburb, by repelling and pursuing the advanced posts, he first detached Colonel Itzenplitz, with 700 men and some pieces of cannon, on the 9th in the morning, to take post in the redoubts surrounding the suburbs, to support the hussars and independent battalions in case of need; and then about noon, foreseeing all his care that way would be to no purpose, he renewed his remonstrance to the magistrates of the town, that it would be absolutely incumbent upon him to set fire to the suburbs, upon the first appearance of an Austrian in them: and further told them, that this would be the last notice he should give them. But he got no other answer from them, but shrugging of shoulders and deploring the misfortune of their fellow citizens; though the governor told them, that it was in the power of their court to avert the calamity,

While

While the governor tried these fair means to prevent a conflagration, the Austrian van-guard attacked the advanced posts, and forced the hussars and Monjou's independent battalion to quit the great garden and retire into the suburbs. They then attacked the small redoubts, forced three of them, and penetrated to Zinzindorff house, and the draw bridge of Pirna gate, on which they left one soldier killed; and during this attack, the enemy's cannon played into the city. Yet the governor did not proceed to extremities. Though this was an open attack upon both the suburbs and the town,---no house was set on fire. The cannon upon the ramparts drove the Austrians back, and before night he obliged them to quit the redoubts. In the mean time, the army under General Izenplitz, marched through the city, passed the Elbe, and encamped under the cannon of the New Town. General Meyer was charged with the defence of the suburbs, with his independent battalions, and four others, with positive orders to set fire to them, if he found reason to proceed to that extremity, after giving notice to the inhabitants.

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1758.

Austrians
attack the
advanced
posts.

Driven
back by the
cannon.

The preparations for an assault, by the enemy's erecting of batteries and planting cannon in the night, and the smart fire upon those, who were sent beyond the barriers to reconnoitre, being reported to the governor, and he being convinced, that his strength was in no condition to prevent the Austrians making themselves masters of the suburbs, because the height of the houses obstructed the service of the cannon from the ramparts, and

Austrians
prepare to
attack the
city.

A. D.
1758.

Suburbs
ordered to
be burnt.

and the magistrates and court not willing to interpose in such a critical juncture, he permitted General Mayer to give the signal, and at three in the morning of the 10th, the greatest part of the suburb of Pirna, the houses adjoining to the ditch, and two of the suburb of Wilsdorff, were in flames^s. The six battalions, with the 700 men from the redoubts entered the town by the three gates, which were immediately barricaded; and after six in the morning, there was not a Prussian in the suburbs; notwithstanding the many falsehoods published on this occasion, by the court of Vienna, to impeach the humanity of the Prussian general: though the court of Dresden were so sensible of his humane conduct, that they thanked him for the good order he caused to be observed during these troubles.

M. Daun
remon-
strates a-
gainst this
proceed-
ing.

M. Daun pretended to be greatly surprized at the sight of these flames, and sent Colonel Sa-

s. A list of the houses burnt in the suburbs of Dresden, from the certificate signed by the judges.

Houses, seven in the fishmongers quarter; 141 in the ram quarter; 82 in Pirna quarter; one in Halbe Gasse quarter; two in Seethor quarter; nine in Poppitz quarter; 23 in the bailiwick quarter; the excise house, as also the excise house and guard house at Pirna gate, and the excise and guard houses at Seethor. In all 280 houses.

Persons killed or hurt.

In ram quarter; two aged persons burnt.

In Pirna quarter; a burgher killed by a cannon ball from the town; a girl of 14, and a widow wounded.

In Poppitz quarter; a woman killed by the independent battalion.

voisky,

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1758.

voisky to Count Schmettau, the governor, to enquire, ' Whether it was by order, that the suburbs were burnt in a royal residence, which, he said, was a thing unheard of among Christians; and that he hoped that the city of Dresden would not be treated in the same manner. The marshal further sent his compliments to the court, and threatened the governor to be made responsible, in his person, for what had been done, and for what might be done against this royal residence.'

Count Schmettau returned for answer, ' That he had the honour to be known to the marshal; that he had orders to defend the town to the last man: that his Excellency was too well acquainted with war, to be ignorant that the destruction of the suburbs, which the marshal had attacked, was according to rule: that if he attacked the town the governor would defend himself from house to house, and from street to street, with the infantry of the whole army; and then, if driven to the extremity, he would make his last effort in the royal palace, rather than abandon the city contrary to the command of his royal master.'

The go-
vernor's
answer.

Loud were the outcries against this act of military power in a neutral city, and the residence of a sovereign Prince. The governor, Count Schmettau, exculpated himself of any act of cruelty or inhumanity, by the testimony of M. de Bose, the cup-bearer, whom his Excellency employed in all his messages on this occasion to the court: and further by a certificate of the magistrates of Dresden, and of the judges of the suburbs of the same city

Complain-
ed of all
over Eu-
rope.

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city^h; in contradiction to the memorial of the Saxon minister, the Resident M. Porikau's memorial to the

^h The letter from M. de Bose, chief cup-bearer to the court of Dresden, to Count Schmettau.

“ I have the honour to acquaint your Excellency, in answer to what you wrote to me this day; I must own that ever since you had the government of Dresden, I informed you of all that his Royal Highness charged me to tell you in his name, and I have likewise reported to his Highness, your Excellency's answers.

“ As to the first point, I also remember very well, that your Excellency charged me, in the month of July, to represent to his Royal Highness, that if Marshal Daun should attack the city, you must set fire to the suburbs, particularly the houses that adjoined to the ditch; into which houses, your Excellency immediately ordered combustibles to be put. I also remember, that upon the solicitations, which his Royal Highness made, by me, to your Excellency, you ordered them to be removed when Marshal Daun retired; and of this I also made an humble report.

“ It is also true, that when Marshal Daun was at Lockowitz, on the 18th of November last, your Excellency charged me to acquaint his Royal Highness, in your name, that, if Marshal Daun should approach near the town, and attack it, you should be obliged to burn the suburbs, and the houses adjoining the town ditch. Although I made several remonstrances to your Excellency from the court, you declared, that you was ordered by the King your master, to defend yourself to the last extremity, and that you could not change your measures, unless Marshal Daun should be prevailed with not to attack the town. To which I answered, in his Royal Highness's name, that he knew nothing of Marshal Daun's designs; that he could not intermeddle in the operations of war, and would consequently be obliged to endure what he could not hinder.

“ Lastly, it is well known, that your Excellency, during the fire, took every possible measure in the town, to prevent these

the diet of the Empire. In which it is set forth,
 "That by the violence of the flames, which was

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kept At the diet
 of the Em-
 pire.

these excesses and disorders, which might have been appre-
 hended; and his Royal Highness charged me to return you his
 thanks for it. I have the honour to be, &c.

Dec. 4. 1758. JOACHIM-FREDERIC de BOSE."

Certificate of the magistrates of Dresden.

In consequence of orders received from his Excellency
 Count Schmettau, lieutenant general and governor, we certify
 what we know concerning the burning of the suburbs. Two
 persons were burnt to death, two killed, three hurt, by the
 fire, and two wounded by the soldiers.

We never heard, in any shape, of a waggon full of goods,
 which they were endeavouring to save, and which it was pre-
 tended was covered with combustibles, and so set on fire; nor
 of ninety persons said to have perished at the Hart, nor of the
 Austrian troops, who, it is pretended, assisted in extinguishing
 the flames.

Dresden, Dec. 4, 1758. (L. S.) The magistrates of Dresden.

Certificate of the judges of the suburb of Dresden.

We the judges of the suburb of Dresden, certify, and attest,
 that at the time of the calamity that hath just happened, things
 passed in this manner. The combustibles were re-placed on
 the 7th of November: and the magistrates ordered all the
 judges to attend them: accordingly, Simon Stelzner, judge;
 John Christian, alderman; John Michael Faber, and John
 Christian Kretschmar, judges, attended, and were told, (be-
 ing enjoined at the same time, to acquaint the other judges
 with it) to provide the houses with water, to give notice to the
 landlords, and to keep the pumps ready, and endeavour to
 assist one another; because, if any misfortune should happen,
 the people of the town could not come to our assistance, nor
 could we go to their's; and of this, we informed all the burghers.

On

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kept up by red-hot balls fired into the houses and along the streets, the whole was instantly on fire.— That a shoemaker, endeavouring to save his infant on a pillow, from burning in the flames, was stopped by a volunteer, who snatched the babe from him, and threw it into the flames.---That a man having got his moveables loaded in a waggon, had them stopped by a Prussian soldier, who covered the waggon with pitch, and set it on fire. That a multitude of people, of all ages, inhabitants of those populous suburbs, perished amidst the flames.---That in the single inn, called the Golden-Hart, ninety perished.---That the Austrian army beheld these horrible acts with indignation and rage. That they sent 500 carpenters into the suburbs, to endeavour to extinguish the flames, and that, melting with compassion, their general

On the 8th and 9th the Austrian army approached the town; and on the 9th, the Austrian hussars forced their way to the suburb of Pirna, and to Zinzendorf house.

On the 10th, at two in the morning, fire was set to the quarters at Pirna, Ram, and Wilsdorf, which consumed 266 houses in all.

There have been therefore in all, two persons burnt, a man and a woman, greatly advanced in years, and whom it was impossible to save; two killed, and two wounded.

What has been said of a waggon is false; and it is equally false that ninety persons perished at the Hart; only four persons in all having lost their lives, as we have just mentioned. Lastly, it is false, that the Austrian carpenters assisted us in extinguishing the fire. We never saw one of them.

We certify, that all the above is strictly conformable to truth.

Dec. 4, 1758.

Signed by the ten judges of Dresden.

tried

tried every method to prevent them." Such were the infamous methods made use of by his enemies, to stir up an animosity, and kindle a hatred against his Prussian Majesty; the greatest potentates upon earth, as they would be esteemed, inventing, or countenancing the most notorious fictions, to deprive him of the affections of good men by their lies, whom they were not able to destroy by their arms.

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1758.

M. Daun, deceived in his hopes to take Dresden by a coup de main, made a shew of an intention to besiege it in form: but the news of Neiss being relieved; and of the retreat of the Austrians before the King of Prussia; and that his Majesty was returning to Saxony with his usual rapidity, and strengthened by success, he raised the siege on the 17th, three days before the King could get to Dresden: and retired, with the army of the Empire also, into Bohemia.

Siege in
form be-
gun.

M. Daun
retires.

As to the fate of Leipfick and Torgau. Count Dohna was ordered to march with 12,000 to the relief of Torgau. The same orders were sent to General Wedel, who with a small army observed the motions of the Swedes: who, being nearest to the place, threw himself into Torgau, before Haddick arrived there, and repulsed him with loss; when he made his attack. Count Dohna, being come up soon after, they united and pursued the Austrians as far as Eulenburg. The fate of Haddick, and the approach of the Prussians, struck such a terror, that the Prince of Deux Ponts did also raise the siege of Leipfick.

The sieges
of Leipfick
and Tor-
gau raised.

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1758.

Austrians
and Impe-
rialists re-
tire.

Winter-
quarters,
how form-
ed.

The Austrian operations had failed them. No one advantage was gained: and there were no more attempts thought of for this year. The Marshal having got all his forces into Bohemia and Austrian Silesia, endeavoured to place them in such a manner for the winter; as to form an immense chain of troops; so as to cover the frontiers of Silesia and Saxony, and to communicate with the Imperial army, which continued the chain from thence, through Thuringia and Franconia; where this army joined the quarters of Prince de Soubize, extending westward, along the course of the Main and Lahn, to meet those of Marshal Contades, which stretched to the Rhine, and connected the chain quite to the Maese, so as to command the whole course of the Rhine, upwards and downwards.

The operations of
the Swedes.

Their pro-
gress.

The Swedes, who, in the beginning of this year, seemed averse to the war against his Prussian Majestyⁱ, were encouraged to enter upon action by the absence of the Prussian troops, obliged to undertake more important services than to watch the motions of so despicable an enemy. Count Hamilton, who commanded the Swedish army, having no force to oppose him, when Dohna was marched with his troops to watch the motions of the Russians, and being reinforced with a considerable number of men, took the field, dislodged the few Prussians left in the frontier towns, recovered Swedish Pomerania, entered the Prussian territories

ⁱ See page 144, 145, Vol. III.

and threatened Berlin itself with plunder and devastation ; for his detachments penetrated as far as Zenderick and Fehrbellin, and within twenty-five miles of that capital.

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In this invasion the Swedes left such marks of barbarity and cruelty, that it should seem the parties of the grand confederacy against Prussia had engaged to exceed each other in acts of inhumanity. The Swedes, who, in former wars, had always maintained the character of a brave and generous enemy, debased their martial spirit with a meanness, that is the strongest indication of cruelty in a fordid mind. Though their strength did now exceed the force opposed to them, at least as four to one, they did nothing but forage, pilfer, pillage, raise contributions, &c. Except setting fire to houses, they surpassed all their confederates in this manner of making war ; and wherever they came, they behaved worse than Cossacks and Calmucks. For as they had no magazines formed, nor took proper measures to be supplied with provisions, they stripped every place, where-ever they came, quite bare. In a great number of villages, they not only carried away the produce of the earth, the cattle and horses, which they afterwards sold to the Jews ; but also, by order from their superiors, they trampled down and destroyed the seed in the ground.

Their barbarity.

General Wedel was detached from Saxony, with a body of troops, to check and repulse these cruel invaders. Wedel arrived at Berlin, with eleven thousand effective men, on the 20th of

Repulsed.

A. D.
1758.

September. General Hamilton immediately retreated, at the approach of the Prussians, leaving a garrison of 1400 men in Fehrbellin, in order to stop the Prussian army in the pursuit of his main body, and with orders to defend the place to the very last extremity. Accordingly they suffered a severe cannonade, by which every house in the town was damaged; and then they disputed the ground from house to house. But the valour of the Prussian grenadiers prevailed, and the Swedes were at last driven out, having lost 500 men 14 officers killed; besides 222 private men and some officers made prisoners. During this action the Prince of Bevern, who had been released, and retired to his government at Stettin, pursued the Swedish army with a detachment, harrassed their rear, and ruined a battalion of volunteers, of whom 72 were taken prisoner, and 200 were slain. Which put an end to the fears of the city of Berlin, and obliged the enemy to evacuate the Prussian territories, and seek for safety once more under their own cannon of Stralsund; where they entered into winter quarters; and General Hamilton threw up his command, and resigned all his employments, rather than be laid under the odious necessity of executing orders against the innocent and helpless, without power to face an enemy in the field.

Siege of
Colberg.

General Fermor, after the battle of Zorndorf, was sensible, that he could not maintain his ground in Pomerania, during the winter; except he could make himself master of a sea port in that
pro-

A. D.
1758.

province, and thereby open a communication with Ruffia by fea. Colberg, a fmall fea-port on the Baltick, and very indifferently fortified, prefented itfelf, as the moft certain object for his defign. With this intention 15,000 Ruffians were detached; who arrived before Colberg on the 3d of October, and opened their trenches in form, but with fuch little fuccefs, that after twenty-fix days, Major Heydon, their brave governor, without any reinforcement or fuccours of any kind, obliged them to raife the fieve. In which difgraceful manner the whole Ruffian army evacuated Pomerania, and fought for winter quarters beyond the Viftula^k.

Repulfed.

Thus

^k In the night between the 26th and 27th of October, the Ruffians before Colberg gave two fucceffive affaults; but in both were repulfed, with the lofs of fome hundred men. Every thing was prepared for a general affault on the 29th, and troops were put into barges, in order to go down the river Perfante, under the cannon of the town; but advice being received that Major-General Platen had defeated a Ruffian detachment near Greiffenburg, and that he was advancing by Treptow, the Ruffians determined the fame day to raife the fieve, to burn their bridge of communication upon the Perfante, and retire on the other fide of the river.

The garrifon feized this opportunity to fall out, under Lieutenant-Colonel Schladen, and ruin the batteries and other works that had been raifed by the Ruffians. Thefe, who were not yet gone far, endeavoured to cut off the detachment that fallied out; but being drawn under the cannon of the fortrefs, they were beat off with confiderable lofs. They retreated by Coflin towards Publitz, on the frontiers of Poland.

In this march they compleated the ruin of the villages through which they paffed, ftripping the inhabitants of every

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1758.

Conclusion
of the King
of Prussia's
campaign.

His vari-
ous for-
tune.

Great abi-
lities and
success.

Thus we conclude the campaign in Germany, between the King of Prussia and his most formidable enemies. A campaign, which for its variety of events, and the spirit and conduct of his Majesty, exceeds all examples. We in the beginning beheld him, with admiration, invading Moravia and investing Olmutz: and all his successes defeated, by one unfortunate stroke. We saw him, with amazement, rise up victorious out of distress; penetrating into Bohemia, in spite of a superior army at his heels, obliging Koninsgratz to open her gates to him; marching to the Oder, routing an army of Russians three times the number of his own; returning to Saxony, and driving the Imperial and Austrian armies before him. And, though he lost his most able generals, and suffered so great a loss in his men and in his camp at Hochkirchen, his Majesty found sufficient resource in his military abilities, alternately to relieve Silesia from an Austrian army, and to oblige the Austrians and Imperialists once more to evacuate Saxony; when he had to contend with armies, that were each of them greatly superior to his in numbers, and commanded by generals of approved courage and known experience. Six sieges were raised, at Colberg, at Neisse, at Cosel, at Dresden, at Torgau and at Leipstick, by him or his generals; and his Prussian Majesty could not be said to have lost one inch of ground this thing of value, killing the cattle, and throwing into bogs the forage and grain they could not carry off; besides committing an infinite number of other disorders not less enormous.

year,

year, notwithstanding he was attacked by so many formidable armies. A. D.
1758.

Though these are the principal actions between the belligerents in Germany, during the year 1758, it is requisite for their illustration, to lay before the reader some particulars, which were intended to favour the enemies of Great Britain and their allies. Measures
pursued in
favour of
the Austri-
an confe-
deracy.

It has been frequently represented as a state invention, that religion had any share in the political views, and powerful alliance between Austria and her allies: But, if reason may be permitted to preside, where judgment is to be passed on the proceedings of the Imperial court, this year, it cannot be disputed, that there was not a settled intention to crush the three great protestant powers in Germany, by an open prostitution of the powers lodged by the Germannic constitution in the Aulic council. For, on the 21st of August the sentence of the ban of the empire was confirmed by the Aulic council (the last court of appeal from the dyet of the empire) against the King of Prussia; and, at the same time, three decrees, or mandates, were issued against three other protestant members of the empire: the first against the King of Great Britain, as Elector of Brunswick Lunenburgh; the second against the Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbottle; and the third against the Count of Lippe Buckenburgh. In that against his Britannic Majesty the ban of the empire was threatened, for having joined his troops to those of the Elector of Brandenburg, and taking into his pay the Against
the Prote-
stant reli-
gion.

Decree of
the Aulic
council
against the
three Pro-
testant
powers.

A. D.
1578.

forces of several princes, in order to support that Elector's rebellion; --for having ravaged the countries of Hildesheim, Osnaburg and Munster; ---for having taken a Prussian general to command his troops, and with force and arms invaded the countries of Paderborn, Juliers, Bergue, Cologne, Liege and Brabant, taking towns, besieging cities, raising contributions, and seizing the revenues; and lastly, for bringing foreign troops into the empire, taking possession of Embden, and oppressing his co-estates. His Majesty, for these offences, was ordered to withdraw his foreign troops from Germany immediately; to desist from supporting the rebellion of the Elector of Brandenburg; to disband the troops he has taken into his pay; to make good the damages he had *already done*; to *give security for his good behaviour for the future*; and, lastly, to join his contingent to the army of the empire, in order to punish, in an exemplary manner, the rebellion that had been raised, in open violation of the Imperial decrees.

His Britannic Majesty, Elector of Hanover's reply.

Such an attempt, in favour of France, to tye the hands of his Britannic Majesty, Elector of Hanover, &c. from defending his Germanic dominions, and succouring his allies, from an enemy unjustly and unprovoked attacking, plundering, burning and laying their countries, villages, and towns desolate, required a most explicit reply from the Elector of Hanover: and accordingly Baron Gemmingen, electoral minister of Brunswick Lunenburg, presented a memorial to the dyet of the Empire,

Empire, in which he sufficiently exposed the iniquity of the mandate of the Aulic council, and the ingratitude of the Emperor and Empress-Queen, which could endeavour so ungratefully to reward the services done by his Majesty to the House of Austria; as follows: “ His Britannic Majesty, during the one and thirty years of his glorious reign, hath observed so irreproachable a conduct towards all his co-estates of the Empire, without distinction of religion, that no Prince of the Empire hath received greater proofs of esteem and confidence than he can produce. His Majesty hath, as much as the weakest states, always observed right and justice. On the death of the Emperor Charles VI. he beheld the time, which will be a memorable æra in the history of the House of Austria, when the crown of France poured numerous armies into the Empire to extirpate that House, and make itself master of Germany. His Majesty, in his double capacity of King and Elector, placed himself in the breach; he led in person the auxiliary army of her Majesty the Empress-Queen, the greatest part of which was composed of his own troops: at the battle of Dettingen he exposed his sacred person for that princess; and his Royal Highness, the Duke of Cumberland, his son, still bears the scars of wounds there received.

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1758.

His Britannic Majesty, Elector of Hanover's memorial to the diet of the Empire.

The year 1745, when his present Imperial Majesty was chosen Emperor, is still recent in the memory of all the states of the Empire, as well as the pains, which his Britannic Majesty took upon

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1758.

upon that occasion. He purchased the preservation of the House of Austria, which was effected by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, with the blood and treasure of his subjects, and by means of the most important conquests of his crown. He hath endeavoured to maintain the Imperial crown in that House, by negociations for the election of a King of the Romans. The treaty of succession concluded with the Duke of Modena, and the aggrandisement resulting from it to the House of Austria, were owing to his Majesty's friendship."

After setting forth the ingratitude of the House of Austria, it proceeds thus :

" His Majesty, as Elector, is charged, first, With not conforming to the resolutions taken the 17th of January, and 9th of May, last year; but, on the contrary, refusing his concurrence, and declaring for a neutrality : secondly, With giving succours, aid, and assistance, to his Majesty the King of Prussia, entering into an alliance with that Prince, joining his troops to those of Prussia, under the command of a general in the service of his Prussian Majesty, of sending English troops into Germany, and making them take possession of the city of Embden, and employing the auxiliary troops of some other states of the Empire : and, thirdly, It is complained that contributions have been exacted, in his Majesty's name, of divers states of the Empire.

With regard to the first charge, it is very true that, in the deliberations of the diet of the Empire, the beginning of last year, it was given as

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his Majesty's opinion, as well as that of most of his protestant co-estates, that the present troubles should be amicably terminated. His Majesty, in giving his opinion, had, as usual, no other view than what equity and the good of the Germanic Empire seemed to him to require. Whatever judgment shall be formed of the unhappy war that hath broke out, the public will always remember, that by a bare declaration of her Majesty the Empress-Queen, "That she would not attack his Prussian Majesty," the rupture would have been avoided, and the effusion of much blood, as well as the desolation of Germany, prevented. The states that have suffered by the calamities of the war, may judge whether the way, that was taken, was the shortest for the re-establishment of peace, so much to be desired; and whether it were not to be wished, that, laying aside all private views, his Britannic Majesty's proposal had been followed.

It is true, his Majesty took no part in the resolutions which were contrary to his sentiments. But the laws of the Empire have not thereby received the least infringement. The question, whether *in materia collectarum*, the majority be sufficient, has been referred *ad comitia imperii*, by the *instrumentum P. W. Art. v. §. 52.* and is yet undecided. It is not by the plurality of voices, that it can be there determined, but only by means of an amicable accommodation; since otherwise that reference would have been a very useless course; and it was well known, at the ne-
gocia-

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gociations for the peace of Westphalia, what was the tendency of the opinion of the Catholic states, which formed the majority; those very states, and all the other members of the Empire, ought however to consider well, whether it be their essential interest to acknowledge, in the present case, that every state of the Empire is obliged to submit to the majority of votes, in matters of consent, as in the present case; which the principal Catholic Electors have in other cases denied; and which will certainly be retorted upon them in proper time.

But whatever principles shall be assumed, with regard to this question, nothing is more evident, than that, considering circumstances and the situation of the affair then and now in question, his Majesty could never be required to give his troops to comply with those resolutions of the Empire. All Germany knows, though the decree of the Aulic Imperial council says not a word about it, that at the very time when those resolutions were taken, his Majesty's Electoral dominions were most unjustly threatened with an invasion by France. In the month of March, that year, the court of Vienna signed a convention with France, by virtue of which the enemy was to pass the Weser in the month of July, and enter the King's territories. This invasion was made accordingly. The Empress-Queen joined her own troops to those of France; and, in return, stipulated by solemn treaties signed before-hand, to have half of the contributions that should be exacted.

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acted. The damage which the King's subjects suffered by this first invasion, exclusive of the sums, which the provinces were to furnish (and which have been paid out of the royal demesnes) amounted to several millions. And still the unjust rage of his Majesty's enemies was not exhausted. The French army, which entered on another side, under the command of the Prince de Soubise, in company with the troops of Wirtemberg, which the reigning Duke, a thing of which there is no example, led himself, under a French general, against a co-estate, hath again invaded, for the second time, his Majesty's dominions and those of his allies; exacted insupportable contributions; carried off the King's officers, entirely foraged the country, and plundered several places, and committed the greatest disorders, whilst the court of Vienna boasts of having ordered this invasion (the sole end of which was to ravage the King's dominions and those of Hesse) as an effect of its magnanimity, and as a merit with the Germanic body.

If, in such circumstances, his Majesty should be required to suspend the preparations, he has begun, and join the troops, that he wants for his own defence, to those, which, from the arbitrary views of the court of Vienna, are led against his Prussian Majesty, by a Prince who doth not belong to the *generality* of the Empire, and on whom the command hath been conferred, without a previous *conclusum* of the Germanic body; the right of the states of the Empire to defend them-

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themselves, when such defence squares not with the views of the Imperial court, ought at the same time to be settled. It is hoped that things are not yet come to this pass in Germany. Self-defence is the most urgent duty. The resolutions of the Empire cannot deprive the meanest man, much less a free state, and an Elector of the Empire, of this right; nor require him to join the troops, he wants for that end, to those, which, jointly with the troops of France, have invaded his country, and shared in the contributions there extorted.

In the second place, his Majesty doth not deny that he hath entered into an alliance with the King of Prussia, which is entirely conformable to the rules of right: But as he is accountable to God alone for what he doth as King, on the other hand, in the report made of what he has done as Elector, the times, which preceded, have been confounded with those that followed the French invasion. From the beginning of last year his Majesty took every method to shew, that the only thing he aimed at, without taking part, otherwise, in the war, was to oppose the French foreign troops, knowing that they were sent only to invade his Electorate, as indeed they have employed themselves almost wholly in ruining estates comprehended under the guaranty of the Empire, as well those of the Duke of Saxony of the Ernestine line, of the Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle, the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and the Count of Lippe-Schaumbourg, as those of his Majesty.

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Majesty. This just intention, founded on the laws, from which his Majesty hath been so far from derogating in the smallest matter, that no instance thereof hath been, or can be brought, did not, nevertheless, hinder the French troops, who were furnished with the Emperor's *letters requisitoria*, from entering Germany in the avowed quality of auxiliary troops to the Empress-Queen, in company with those of the House of Austria and the Elector Palatine. The Empire hath already been informed, on the 3d of December last year, of the first proposals made, both to the Imperial court and the court of France, for an amicable determination of differences; proposals, which could not have been rejected, had not an hostile attack been resolved on. These offers, which, from the manner in which they were received, his Majesty hath reason to regret that he ever made, leave no shadow of plausibility to the reproaches that may be made on account of the engagement that ensued, in whatever light the King of Prussia's cause may be considered. His Majesty is, indeed, fully persuaded, that he might, at any time, have entered into an alliance with that Prince for their common defence; but no one can doubt, that in this urgent necessity, when he was left alone, he had a right to seek assistance, where it could be got. No fault can possibly be found with that, which the King of Prussia gave him to deliver the Electoral states of Brunswick, and those of Wolfenbuttle, Hesse and Buckebourg. The very nature of this deliverance,

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ance, and the prudence and bravery with which it hath been effected, have acquired immortal glory to his most Serene Highness Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick-Lunebourg (who doth not command the King's army as a Prussian general;) a glory, which is the greater, the more laudable it is for that Prince to have delivered, from such heavy and unjust oppression, the dominions of a King, from whose family he is descended, and principalities in which he drew his first breath, where his ancestors have reigned, and where the Duke his brother still reigns. It is with an equally just right that this Duke, with the Duke of Saxe Gotha, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel and the Count of Schaumbourge-Lippe, put their troops into his Majesty pay. Posterity will hardly believe, that at a time when Austrian, Palatine and Wurtemberg auxiliaries were employed to *invade* the countries belonging to states of the Empire, other members of the Germanic body, who employed auxiliaries in their *defence*, were threatened with the ban. His Majesty ordered the English troops to be sent over, and possession to be taken of Embden, in his quality of King; and hath no occasion to give account thereof to any. Mean while the laws of the Empire permit the states thereof to make use of foreign troops in their own defence; they forbid only the introduction of them into the Empire to invade the dominions of another, as the Empress-Queen hath done.

In

In the third and last place, his Majesty the King of Great Britain, Elector of Brunswick-Lunebourg, sent ministers particularly to the Palatine court, and that of Cologne, to divert them from joining in the designs of France against his dominions. It cannot therefore be doubted that it would have been highly agreeable to him, if those courts had taken measures, that would have freed him from the burden of the war. But none can expect that his Majesty should, with indifference, see himself treated as an enemy by his co-estates. The Elector of Cologn, and the bishop of Liege, had no troops that were wanted in the French army: But, in consideration of subsidies, opened to it the gates of their towns, and gave it all the assistance in their power; without which that army could not, at that time, have proceeded so far as the Electoral estates, where the Austrian and Palatine troops behaved much worse than the French themselves. How can it be expected that his Majesty, after God hath blessed his arms with success, should not resent this treatment? The laws of the Empire forbid the attacking of the estates of the Empire: but they permit defence against, and the pursuit of those, who, by their invasion, have violated the public peace.

If the crown of France be free to ravage the dominions of the Duke of Brunswick, and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, because they have given the King auxiliary troops; if the Empress-Queen may, for the assistance she hath lent the French King to attack the King's dominions, ap-

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appropriate to herself half of the contributions raised there, his Majesty ought to be equally permitted to make those states, who have favoured the unjust enterprizes of his enemies, feel the burden of the war."

Resolution
of the
Evangelic
body.

Such is the tenor of the famous memorial which the Hanoverian minister presented to the diet of the Empire, and which made so strong an impression upon many of the members, that on the 29th of November, the Evangelic body published a conclusum, purporting, That with respect to the ban of the Empire, with which several Princes were now threatened, they would never consent to any innovation that shall be proposed, contrary to the 20th article of the capitulation, which the Emperor confirmed by oath at his election; and that whatever shall be done, contrary to that, shall be looked upon by them as null and void, and shall be treated accordingly.

The Saxon
memorial
concerning
Dresden.

Another attempt was made in the diet of the Empire, to spirit up a detestation of the King of Prussia's method of proceedings in Saxony. The complaint was founded upon the measures taken by his governor for the defence of the city of Dresden against M. Daun's army. In which memorial M. Ponickau, the Saxon minister at the diet, was taught to represent that affair in the most tragical view; affirming, That soldiers had been dispersed and stationed in the suburbs, by the orders of Count Schmettau, to break open houses and shops, to set fire to combustibles, to add fresh fuel, and then to close up the doors; that

that he kept up the fire by red-hot balls fired into the houses, &c. that the inhabitants were left without cover, and destroyed by the cannon and small arms, and that such as escaped were murdered by the bayonets of the Prussian soldiers, posted in the streets for that purpose: he even enumerated several particular instances, in confirmation of this inhuman representation¹, and concluded with the number of houses, which were burnt on this occasion.

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However, this failed. Baron Plotho, the Brandenburg minister, refuted every article of this Saxon memorial, by most authentic certificates, as we have already shewn. His Prussian Majesty, no doubt, was greatly misrepresented on this particular occasion; it is to be wished his whole conduct towards Saxony had been as irreprehensible. For at his first seizing upon that Electorate, it was pretended to be no more than a cautionary expedient to prevent his confederate enemies taking any advantages against him on that side. And when he disarmed the Saxon forces, it was under the same caution, that they should not join his enemies^m. But he was no sooner in full possession of Saxony, and her troops disarmed, than he acted like an enemy; extorted heavy contributions, under pain of military execution, and forced the Saxons to furnish him with a great number of recruits; he discharged the government in the state, and applied the public reve-

Refuted.

Observations on the King of Prussia's conduct towards Saxony.

¹ See these particulars on page 367, 368. Vol. III.

^m See page 194, &c. Vol. I.

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nues to his own use: yet, always pretending that he did nothing, but for the safety and common benefit of the Electorate and its Sovereign. However, since the French King had shewn him an example, by establishing his administration in Hanover, which entirely changed the government and system of that Electorate, and also by his late decree for the administration of the Landgravate of Hesse; and the Russians had ill-treated the kingdom of Prussia: and alledging the necessity to which he was driven to take such a resolution, by the hostilities repeated, in that Electorate, against him by the Austrians and Imperialists; the Prussian directory of war, on the 2d of December, 1758, sent a decree to the deputies of the estates of Saxony, which, after having enjoined them to deliver a certain quantity of flour and forage, signified in express terms,---“ Though the King
“ of Prussia had hitherto treated the Electorate
“ of Saxony as a country he had taken under his
“ special protection, that the face of affairs was
“ now changed in such a manner, that his Ma-
“ jesty would consider it, for the future, only as
“ a conquered country, out of which he had
“ driven his enemies by force of arms.”

Declares it
to be a
conquered
country.

Seizes up-
on the re-
venues, go-
vernment,
&c.

In pursuance of this declaration all the revenues of the Saxon ministers were sequestered:—And as the Russians had seized in Prussia all the rents of the estates in that country belonging to the Prussian officers, the same was done by the King of Prussia, in regard to the estates of Saxon officers in the Russian service. Twenty persons were
ordered

ordered to depart for Warsaw in 24 hours, and the papers of the privy counsellors were sealed up, and the administration of the government was committed entirely to Prussians.

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Did it consist with truth ; they, that are in love with his Prussian Majesty's heroic qualities, would be pleased to see a veil drawn over the miseries of Saxony, which can be imputed to none, but him. Instead of consulting means to make a country happy, to which he now laid a claim by right of conquest, and which had been impoverished by former exactions, and very lately punished with military execution : he rather seemed to seize on it as a prey to be pulled to pieces. Fresh contributions were demanded, and extorted by most inhuman severities ; severities, that have extended to distant nations, and whose effects are now felt most heavily by the merchants in the greatest trading towns in that quarter of Europe. For, his Majesty carried off the merchants from the exchange by soldiers, and confined them in a more wretched condition than felons, on straw beds, &c. till they were obliged to draw bills for very large sums on their foreign correspondents ; which bills are supposed the original of the late bankruptcies made at Amsterdam, Hamburg, Bremen, &c. How far this was just, or justifiable by the laws of arms, is not a question to be decided here : but that it was a most severe scourge upon an innocent and blameless people, every one must agree. Nevertheless, it is far from bearing the cruel aspect and ruinous consequences of the total desolation

His conduct unjustifiable.

His measures the origin of the present bankruptcies.

The Austrian allies more culpable.

A. D. 1758. brought upon all conditions, without distinction of age or sex, by the confederates against him and the allies of Great Britain, as we have related in the marches of the Russians, French, and Swedes, in Pomerania, Westphalia, Hesse, and Hanover. Where the ruin of their lands, houses, public edifices, manufactures and estates, can't possibly be repaired in less than half a century.

Conduct of
the Dutch.

The Dutch, availing themselves of their neutrality in this war, pretended a right, by treaties with England, to trade with those people and countries, with whom we are in actual war, and to cover their property, in Dutch ships, from the power of the Englishⁿ. So that the French navigation being entirely ruined by our naval superiority, these neutral neighbours took upon them not only to carry the produce and manufactures of our enemies to market, but also to supply them with every thing necessary for carrying on a war by sea and land.

Trade for
our ene-
mies.

Observa-
tions on
this con-
duct.

Such a glaring instance of perfidy, that supported our enemies in the most essential manner, to carry on their trade and to continue the war, could not be suffered to reign long. Our men of war and letters of marque, brought Dutchmen continually into port, laden with an illicit cargo, and they that were found with conterband goods, or with French property on board, were condemned in our court of admiralty by due course of law. The French had no ships left; and their court

ⁿ See page 41. Vol. II.

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directed or permitted the governors of their islands and colonies to licence such Dutch ships, as would undertake to carry their produce and manufactures, and to supply them with every thing they should want. The Dutch, sensible of the sweets arising from this lucrative navigation, ran all risques. The French ports, both in Europe and America, were thronged with Hollanders: and the advantages they received from thence, so blinded their understandings, that they, at last, claimed a right by treaty, to aid and assist our enemies; and a resolution of the States General, stigmatized the captures of Dutch ships, made under those circumstances, by the name of robberies or piracies, pursuant to a memorial presented to their High and Mightinesses, signed by 269 merchants, &c.° The directors of the Amsterdam company applied

Complain
of the
English
for taking
their ships.

° “ We the undersigned merchants, insurers, and others, concerned in the commerce and navigation of the state, most humbly represent, That the violences and unjust depredations committed by English men of war and privateers on the vessels and effects of the subjects of the state, are not only continued, but daily multiplied; and cruelty and excesses carried to such a height, that the petitioners are forced to implore the assistance of your High Mightinesses, that the commerce and navigation of the republic, which are the two sinews of the state, may suffer no interruption, and be protected in the most efficacious manner, in order that the being of the State may be preserved, and that it may be kept from complete and final ruin.

The petitioners shall not insert here a long recital of their ships that have been illegally stopped and seized, nor of the piracies and violences that have been committed for a considerable space of time, on the subjects of the republic; nor of

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applied to the States for the same purpose. Several resolutions of the States were delivered to Mr. York,

the acts of inhumanity, with which they were often attended, even so far, that less cruelty might have been expected from a declared enemy, than they have suffered, from the subjects of a power, with whom the State is connected by the most solemn treaties of friendship. The whole is public and notorious.

Nor will the petitioners enlarge on the insults offered to the Dutch flag, in contempt of your High Mightinesses, the natural protectors of the subjects of the republic. These facts are known to your High Mightinesses.

But the petitioners beg leave to represent, with all due submission, that they cannot forbear to lay their just complaints before your High Mightinesses, who are the protectors of their persons, their estates, their commerce, and navigation; and to lay before you the indispensable necessity of putting a stop, as soon as possible, to those depredations and violences. The petitioners offer to contribute each his contingent, and to arm, at their own charge, for the support and protection of their commerce and navigation.

The petitioners flatter themselves that their toils, and the risk to which their effects are exposed on the seas, will have their proper influence on the general body of the state, since the traders of this country, finding themselves left to the discretion of a part of that nation, with whom the State is most intimately connected, thousands of tradesmen and others, who are connected with merchants, that have hitherto carried on a flourishing trade, will be reduced to distress and poverty; these connections ceasing by the extinction of the estates of merchants, who have always approved themselves faithful to their country, these will be forced to abandon it, to their great regret, and seek shelter and protection elsewhere; which will give a mortal blow to the principal members of the State.

For these just causes, the petitioners have recourse to your High Mightinesses, most humbly imploring them, both in their own names, and in the name of a multitude of unhappy people,

York, the British minister, plenipotentiary on that account: and the merchants petitioned the Princess Regent no less than four times for redress against these piracies and violences of the English, as they called the captures of their ships. But all their blustering and pretensions availed nothing. The English continued to take and to condemn their illicit traders. Mr. York also declared to their High and Mightinesses, That he was authorised to say, “ His Majesty was determined not “ to suffer the trade of the French colonies in “ America, to be carried on by the subjects of “ other powers, under the specious pretext of a “ neutrality; or words to be interpreted as a licence to carry on a trade with his enemies, “ which, though not particularly specified in the “ articles as contraband, was nevertheless rendered such in all respects, and in every sense, by “ circumstances.—That as long as the licit commerce of the subjects of their High Mightinesses, to which his Majesty never intended to “ give the least interruption, was confounded with “ that commerce, which his Majesty regarded, as “ wholly illicit, all their representations would be “ fruitless.” About the same time the conduct of

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His Britannic Majesty's resolute answer.

ple, who are on the point of being stript of all their effects, of sinking into the utmost distress, and being reduced to beggary, that it may please your High Mightinesses to grant to commerce and navigation such speedy, vigorous, and effectual protection, that the faithful subjects of this free State may enjoy their possessions in full security.

And your petitioners, &c.”

the

A. D. 1758. the government of Great Britain with respect to neutral nations, was published at London, fairly stating and refuting the claim of the Dutch to protect French property^p: and as the Dutch persisted

Their case stated, and claim confuted.

^p This pamphlet has irrefragably proved that no neutral nation has a *right* to support France against us, by protecting her property on board their vessels.

§. 1. The right of a neutral power to protect the property of an enemy, must arise either from the law of nations, that is, principles of natural law, which are relative to the conduct of nations, or from some express treaty, by which communities, for their mutual benefit, have established some rights between them, which are not included in the law of nations.

§. 2. Nations can have succeeded to no other rights, than such as men originally enjoyed, as individuals; so that now one nation is to another, as one man was to another, before they entered into society.

§. 3. An individual, in a state of nature, would have had an undoubted right to protect *his own* person and property; but he would not have had a right to protect the person and property of A, the enemy of B, against B, supposing him to be in a state of friendship both with A and B; for how, as a friend to B, can he protect A against him? The protection of A against B is a declaration, that the protector is B's enemy, and from the moment the protection commences, the protector must cease to be a neutral power. This therefore, by §. 2. is the law between nation and nation.

§. 4. But a nation has a right, to which an individual, in a state of nature, has no pretence; the right of dominion. By the right of dominion a nation enacts laws, and establishes jurisdictions, to which, not only its own subjects, but those of other countries, are obliged to submit, within the pale of its power; here then the trial, which the law of nations gives, is, as it were, superseded, and hence arises the right which governments have always enjoyed, of protecting the property of an enemy *within their own precincts*.

§. 5. But

sisted in their claim, and were resolved to continue their illicit trade at all hazards, our ships of war and

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§. 5. But beyond the verge of these precincts, the general law of nations, as by §. 2 and 3, again takes place; the general law of nations therefore takes place upon the OCEAN. This reasoning is supported by the authority of the most eminent writers, and by the practice of all maritime states.

§. 6. With respect to particular treaties, if our ancestors have betrayed the interest of their country by granting other nations unreasonable privileges, we, who have succeeded to their rights, are bound to abide by their concessions.

§. 7. There is an article in several of our treaties with Spain, Sweden, Denmark, and other powers, by which it is stipulated, that “the subjects of the contracting states respectively should
“have liberty to traffic throughout all countries, cultivating
“peace, amity, or neutrality, with either of them; and that
“the said liberty shall in no wise be interrupted by any hind-
“rance or disturbance, by reason of any hostility, which may
“be between either of the said states and any other king-
“doms.”

§. 8. This article is intended as a confirmation of the right, which every nation had, by the law of nations, of trading to the ports of any state *with their own merchandize, and on their own account*, though that state should be engaged in war with another. The confirmation of this right by express terms was made necessary, by its having been frequently violated; some of the powers at war having prohibited the commerce of neutral nations with their enemies *totally*. About the middle of the last century, therefore, when the commercial regulations, which now subsist between the European powers, first began to be formed, an article of this purport was inserted in all commercial regulations, and usually placed among those articles of general import, which are commonly first laid down in treaties, as the basis on which the subsequent stipulations were founded.

§. 9. That

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Loss of
French
ships this
year.

and privateers picked them up at sea in the same manner as declared enemies: for, by the list of ships

§. 9. That no right to protect the enemy's goods was intended to be given by these articles, is manifest from an express declaration in some of the treaties, that an attempt, under favour of this article, to protect the goods of an enemy, should be considered as a *fraud*, and severely *punished*.

§. 10. To establish a right, therefore, to carry freely the effects of an enemy, it was necessary to have it expressly mentioned; and it is accordingly expressly mentioned in two treaties, that contain the article just quoted beside, which alone would prove, that the two articles were inserted for different purposes.

§. 11. The right of carrying freely the goods of an enemy is expressly granted in an article in a maritime treaty between Great Britain and Holland, dated December 1, 1674, and in another between Great Britain and France, dated February 24, 1677. The article is this; "All which shall be found on
" board the vessels belonging to the subjects of those countries
" shall be accounted clear and free, although the whole lading,
" or any part of it, shall belong to the enemies of Great Bri-
" tain," and so reciprocally.

§. 12. It is acknowledged, that by this article the right now claimed by the Dutch, of carrying French goods, was fully granted.

§. 13. But treaties of alliance are nothing more than stipulations of mutual advantages between two communities, and ought therefore to be considered as a *bargain*, the conditions of which are always supposed to be equal, by those, who make it.

§. 14. He therefore who breaks his part of the contract, destroys the equality or justice of it, and forfeits all those benefits, which the other part has stipulated in his favour. Of this opinion are Grotius and Puffendorf.

§. 15. Holland has broken her part of her contract with Britain in the following particulars. In a treaty between Hol-
land

ships taken from the French in the course of this year, it appears that the neutral ships, of which, the

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land and Britain, concluded the 3d of March, 1678, the stipulations are, 1st, A mutual guaranty of all they already enjoyed, or might hereafter *acquire by treaties* of peace in Europe only. 2dly, A mutual guaranty of all treaties that were then made, or might afterwards be *conjointly* made with any other power; and, 3dly, A mutual promise to defend and preserve each other in the possession of all towns or fortresses, which did then, or should afterwards, belong to either of them. And, for this purpose, it is determined, that when either nation is attacked or molested, the other shall immediately succour it with a certain number of troops and men of war, and shall be obliged to break with the aggressor within two months after the party that is already at war *shall require it*, and that they shall then act conjointly with all their forces, to bring the common enemy to a reasonable accommodation.—Now, Minorca, a possession of the crown of Great Britain, in Europe, which she *acquired by treaty*, hath been attacked, which is a case in the *first* guaranty. By this attack of Minorca, a treaty that was made *conjointly* with Holland, the treaty of Utrecht, has been broken, which is a case in the *second* guaranty, and England hath been deprived of a possession, which of right belonged to her, which is a case of the *third* guaranty. Yet Holland hath not yet granted the succours stipulated, and many more than two months have passed, without her having entered into war conjointly with England, as the treaty requires. [The treaty stipulates, that war shall be entered into by the party not already at war, after two months, *if the party already at war requires it*. If we have not *required* the Dutch to enter into our war with France, the Dutch have not violated this stipulation.]

§. 16. By a treaty between England and Holland, signed at the Hague, the 4th of January 1717, there is a mutual stipulation of the parties to protect each other in the possession of their dominions in Europe only, as established by the treaty of Utrecht,

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the Dutch made by far the greatest part, exceeded the French men taken at sea both in number and value.

Utrecht, by the same succours as in the former treaty; 1st, interposition of good offices; 2dly, a certain number of forces; and lastly, a declaration of war. This treaty was renewed by the quadruple alliance of 1718; again by the accession of Holland to the treaty of Hanover in 1726; and, lastly, by the 3d article of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The guaranties of these treaties have been broken by Holland, as she has neither granted the stipulated succours, nor declared war against France upon our loss of Minorca.

§ 17. But it is said, that as the treaties, in which these stipulations are made, are *defensive* treaties, the stipulations of Holland are not binding, if we were not first attacked. To this it is answered, that though these treaties are called *defensive*, it does not therefore follow, that they do not operate, except we were attacked *first*. They guaranty in general certain rights and possessions of both parties, and when they declare what shall be done, in case either shall be *attacked*, or molested, *in those parts which are the objects of the guaranty*, it is not mentioned as necessary, that this should be the *first* attack.

§. 18. The evidence of facts, however, will prove, that *England was first attacked* in the present war: and therefore the treaties are binding, as *defensive* treaties in the strictest sense. In America the present war has been little more than a continuation of the last; repeated usurpations of the possessions of Great Britain have been there the constant employment of France, almost from the hour, in which the treaty of Aix was signed; and these were at last followed by an avowed military attack upon a fort belonging to the crown of Great Britain, by regular troops acting under a commission from the court of France. [In 1754, the French took the block-house and truck-house of the Virginians, at Log's town, on the Ohio; cut off all the traders but two, and carried off goods and merchandize to the value of 20,000 l.] France is also the aggressor in the European war; if the intention alone be regarded,

value. The French lost 13 men of war; 49 privateers and armed merchantmen, which carried
619 guns

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1758.

garded, the first hostile intention in Europe was the design to invade Great Britain; a design sufficiently proved and avowed by the preparations, which France made for it. If we look for the first overt act, the first overt act also was made by France in her attack upon Minorca, which was, in the opinion of all parties, the opening of the European war; for the captures that we made of the French vessels at sea, must be considered as belonging to the American war; they were made in consequence of the hostilities there first commenced, and as reprisals for the injury committed there upon the property of the English. Upon this principle the legislature here hath expressly refused to distribute the captures among the captors, though they have distributed all other prizes.

§. 19. But it may still be objected, that though France was the aggressor in America, Holland is not concerned in the quarrel, because the contested rights there are not contained in the guaranties; and though France is aggressor in Europe also, yet she being aggressor in Europe, only in consequence of hostilities committed in America, neither is Holland concerned in this. It is answered, that if the reasoning, on which these objections are founded, was admitted, it would alone be sufficient to destroy the effects of every guaranty, and totally extinguish the confidence which nations mutually place in each other, on the faith of defensive alliances. It points out to the enemy a certain method of avoiding the inconvenience of such an alliance; for he need only make the first effort on some place not included in the guaranty, and he may then pursue his views against every object of it with safety: Let France first attack a little spot belonging to Holland in America, and her *barrier* would be guarantied no longer. The opinion of Holland, upon this question, is manifest from facts. Soon after Holland had concluded a defensive treaty with France, in 1662, (of which her treaty with England in 1678 is but a copy) she became engaged in a war with England. The first
attack

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619 guns, and 3824 men; 104 trading vessels, most of them coasters, of no considerable value; but

attack was then, as in the present case, made on a place out of Europe, on the coast of Guinea: the cause of the war was also the same, a disputed right to certain possessions out of the bounds of Europe, some in Africa, and others in the East-Indies. Hostilities having continued some time in these parts, they afterwards commenced in Europe. Holland immediately declared, that the case of that guaranty *did exist*, and demanded the stipulated succours. These succours *were granted*, and France, by this concession, shewed that she was of the same opinion, especially as it was not her interest to comply, for this very concession checked her youthful monarch in the first essay of his ambition, delayed for several months his entrance into the Spanish provinces, and brought upon him the enmity of England. That the same was intended by the treaty with us of 1678, as was intended by this treaty, farther appears from their having been negociated by the same statesman, Van Beuningen, who claimed and obtained the succours from France, in consequence of the first treaty, before he negociated the second.

§. 20. But at once to put an end to all disputes arising from the article supposed to give Holland a right of protecting French property, it was, by an article in a subsequent treaty, long ago REPEALED. The treaty, in which this article was last inserted, was concluded December 1, 1674; four years after this, a defensive alliance was concluded, in which it was stipulated between England and Holland, that “if either party should be attacked in Europe, the other should declare war against the aggressor in two months, if required,” as has been before remarked. By this article, therefore, Holland must, within two months after England has been attacked by France in Europe, become the ENEMY of France herself. Except, therefore, it can be supposed, that to be the *enemy* of France means to *preserve* her trade, and *protect* her property, Holland can now have no right to do either; and if

but there are found 176 neutral ships, most of them richly laden with the produce of the French colonies, or with stores of all sorts to enable the French to continue the war. The loss of ships on the part of Great Britain amounts to 313, amongst which are found no more than seven privateers; the rest are chiefly coasting vessels, empty transports, and disarmed ships of no considerable value. A circumstance greatly in favour of the administration^a, which had disabled the French navy so, as to secure our trade and navigation, as well as our colonies; and took such measures, as in a little time would put an end to their scheme of a *pettit guere*, or a war carried on by privateers; and to their commerce in Dutch or neutral bottoms.

A. D.
1758.

What
number of
Dutch
ships
amongst
them.

Loss of
English
ships.

Our ministry, at this time, had not the strength; but the policy of France to encounter. The French ministry had these points in view, which must be attained, or they must be undone. Trade must be supported, or their finances must fail: their colonies must be protected, or their trade must be lost. And in regard to Great Britain,

The policy
of the
French
ministry.

the word *enemy* is not thus absurdly taken, the article requiring the Dutch to become the enemy of France, is a *direct* and *positive declaration*, that the ships of Holland shall not have a right to protect the effects of the French.

An article of the same purport occurs in two subsequent treaties, in which it is also expressly declared, that whatever has been established by any later treaty, shall be understood and performed in the sense therein expressed, without any regard had to any *former* treaty.

^a See the note on page 48. Vol. II. and page 33. Vol. III.

A. D. 1758. means must be contrived to interrupt their commerce, and to injure their credit. For these purposes every stratagem was contrived and executed.

Means
used by the
French
to succour
their colo-
nies.

The desperate state of their colonies in North America, which they could not succour by open force^r, put them upon the necessity of risking single ships, or small convoys from such ports, as were thought least observed by the English, to take the advantage of dark nights, foggy weather, and even of seas and seasons, in which they could not expect to meet with any opposition from an enemy. While they made all the appearance of preparations to embark men and warlike implements and stores in the west, their store ships and transports stole out of the southern ports, or in the channel, in weather, that had driven the English off their coast; and, if they escaped the vigilance of our cruisers, placed their future safety in the foggs of Newfoundland, or in the ice of the river St. Lawrence; which none but the most distressed navigators would dare to encounter; or in the dangerous passage through the straits of Belleisle, unnoticed by the English cruisers in the bay of St. Lawrence. This did not escape the vigilance, nor fail of the care required in the minister, that watched to improve all advantages for his country, and to distress the enemy in every undertaking. Our squadrons and cruisers were so judiciously stationed and well instructed, that few of these desperadoes escaped.

How obvi-
ated by the
English.

^r See the reason on page 54, &c. Vol. III.

Another

Another expedient no less singular than the former, was to threaten England with an invasion by flat-bottomed boats. An incredible number of these boats were reported to be built in the ports of the Channel. They were stationed in three divisions, to land a powerful army at three distant places at one time. Troops were marched down to the coast, and all forts of military stores were prepared for embarkation: and the most amazing diligence was pretended at Rochefort, Brest, and other ports, to equip the whole remains of the French navy, to cover and support this invasion. By which means it was expected to distract the English councils, which heretofore had been so often frightened into a state of inactivity by the terrors of an invasion; and thereby to disconcert their present vigorous measures, and to prejudice the national credit. But this rather prompted the necessity of increasing the vigour of our measures; to attack them on their own coasts; to burn their ships and magazines, and to find employment for their troops to defend their own country. This raised our national credit to the highest pitch, and brought the French gasconade of an intended invasion into contempt, and to be the scoff of old women and children.

A. D.
1758.

An invasion threatened.

Why.

How prevented.

Every other project having failed, they at last, disarmed and laid up their useless ships of war, and encouraged private adventurers to fit out privateers of considerable strength to interrupt our navigation and to distress our trade, which did us considerable damage on the coast of Scotland and

French privateers encouraged.

A. D.
1758.

Their
losses.

Remark-
able cap-
ture of the
Machault.

Ireland, in the chops of the Channel, and from the Lands End to Holy Island, or the mouth of the Tweed; in the Levant, but most of all about the Capes of Virginia and our sugar islands, in which latitudes we suffered most. But they were not permitted to range those seas without chastisement, as the number mentioned above amongst the captures, plainly convince us: and as it will more fully appear in the following actions.

The year was introduced by the capture of the Machault's privateer, of 14 nine pounders and 182 men, in Dungeness road, on the 1st day of January 1758, by the Adventure armed ship, commanded by Captain Bray for the King, and by Christopher Allison for the owners, in contract with the government. Captain Bray in his correspondence with the admiralty, (dated the 2d of January) informs them, That while he laid at anchor on the first of January, he saw a snow reach in for the Nefs, which, at first, he took for a man of war, but that he cleared ship and veered away to the splice on the windlafs: that about two, cut the splice, and made sail large: that, in a few minutes after, they began to fire at each other, when judging that the enemy intended to rake the Adventure, HE ordered the helm to be put hard a port; which had the desired effect of laying her a-thwart hawse, her bowsprit coming in between his main-sail and mizen-masts. That WE (he says) passed the end of the mizentop-

* She came out of Dunkirk on the 1st of January in the morning.

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A. D.
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This was such a gallant action, that the Lords
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 was worthy of the reward. But his generosity, his
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Remarks
on this
action.

A. D. of the adventure for the owners^t, who is still
1758. alive and prosperous; though he has been totally neglected,

^t Mr. Reed, Spithead, January 29th, 1758.

Your favour of the 13th I received on the 20th, wherein I find you want to know the particulars of our action. The following is the truth, to the best of my knowledge; which is, I believe, better than any in the ship can give. On the first of January, Dungeness-light east by north from us four miles: about twelve at noon saw a snow stand in for Dungeness; which some took for one of our cruisers. Dinner being ready, Captain Bray gave orders for all the hammocks up, and clearing the ship, which was done in the time we were at dinner. Monfieurs, smelling our beef, roast-pork and plumb-pudding, came down in order to deprive us of it; we dined on our beef and pork before they came: the pudding we fought for.

Being informed by the officer upon deck, that she was bearing down with an English jack flying, we went up, and soon saw what she was. Our captain's order was to heave in the cable: I told him, we had not time; it would be better to bear away to the splice and cut; in the mean time, loosed our top-sails and fore-sail, cut and bore away large: had not time to get our top-sails hoisted: being then within gun-shot, we fired. He immediately down English and up French colours, but did not fire at us. I told Captain Bray, his intent was to rake us, and desired to port our helm; which he gave orders for. Finding our ship to lay in the same position, I run to the wheel, and found the helm a star-board, put it a port, as fast as I could, ship wearing very fast, and he shearing towards us, with full sail, could not prevent boarding us: seeing in what position she was coming, I told Captain Bray, she was our own; only make her fast, she would not be able to get a gun to bear on us. From that I ran to cut the pikes down, expecting they had their men ready to board us, which they had; but receiving such a continual fire, they could not stand it. I called out to the pilot several times, with anger, who had hold of the bob-stay with his hand, to make her fast; I laid

neglected, both in the representation of the fact, and in the distribution of public rewards. A D. 1758.

The Honourable Captain Byron, of his Majesty's ship the America, in company with the Coventry and Brilliant, returning from a cruise to Plymouth-Sound, informs " M. Cleveland, amongst

Of the
Brilliant,
&c.

I laid down my musket, ran forward for a tow line, sent some of the main-deck idlers to hand the end up, run aft with the end, reeved it through his bob-stay, brought it to the capston, and took a round turn with the other part. In the mean time Captain Bray, and the pilot, had got the mizen-top-sail sheet passed, and made it fast to a cleet on the mizen-mast, which came off. That being done I returned to the musket, on which the action chiefly depended: about this time they made an attempt to rally their men, and to man their fore-castle; and dropt their fore-sail that we might not see them. One of the four pounders, in the round-house, cleared a way for us, by firing part of their fore-sail; renewing our musquetry, with more vigour, from the quarter-deck and round-house, they fled, to a man, for shelter: and I perceived their colours to be struck, which I called out accordingly, and fired my musquet in the air: four of us jumped upon their fore-castle, barricading for boarding them, amongst whom was our pilot; but unexpected, they gave us a volley of small arms; on which we returned, without any damage. The firing, on both sides, continued about ten minutes longer, with three or four great guns, and so the action ended.

My mate, Mr. Headlam, who signalized himself equal to any, received a shot in his wrist, and one of our marines a slight wound by a splinter: these two were wounded after their colours were struck. One of our marines was killed the first of the action. I am

To Mr. Joseph Reed, rope-maker, near Sun-tavern Fields, London.

Yours,

CHRIST. ALLISON.

" On January the 7th, 1758.

C c 4

other

A. D.
1758.

other particulars, That in an engagement with the Diamond, a fine vessel of 200 tons and upwards, mounting fourteen carriage guns, richly laden with the finest furs from Quebec; all the after-part of her blew up, burnt with such violence for half an hour, that she sunk; only twenty-four out of seventy men could be saved; some of which were so miserably burnt that they died. That the Coventry had taken the Dragon privateer of Bayonne, a new ship, on her first cruise, carrying 24 nine pounders and 284 men; after an hour and a half's warm dispute. The privateer had four men killed and twelve wounded. The Coventry had only six wounded; one of whom died. And that the Brilliant had sunk, with her first broadside, the Intrepide of Bayonne, a privateer of 14 guns and 130 men, ten of whom were killed, the rest were taken up by the Brilliant's boats.

The cruisers in the bay, and elsewhere, had most extraordinary success about this time: the Stirling-Castle and Lowestoffe took two large French ships, laden with provisions, stores and soldiers for Louisbourg; being part of a convoy, that sailed from the Island of Aix, under the care of the Prudent and Capricieux, and the Tripon and Heroine frigates. Two more store-ships from Rochelle and Louisbourg, were taken by the Dunkirk. The Hussar fire-ship took a French frigate of 36 guns, 300 men, after killing 100 of the enemy: the Shannon also brought in a French frigate of 36 guns: and another of the same weight

weight of metal was sunk by one of our men of war in the bay. A. D. 1758.

In the course of correspondence in this month, the admiralty received advice from Rear-Admiral Coates, That on the 21st of October last, Captain Forrest, in his Majesty's ship Augusta, with the Dreadnought and Edinburg under his command, cruising off Cape François, was attacked by four ships of the line^w and three large frigates, intended to drive the small English squadron off the coast, and to clear the way for a large fleet of merchantmen, ready to sail from thence for Old France. Neither their number, nor strength, was able to frighten the three English captains, who unanimously agreed to fight them, and bore down upon the French squadron: that the action begun about twenty minutes past three, with great briskness on both sides, and continued for two hours and a half, at which time the French commodore made a signal, and one of the frigates went immediately and towed him out of the line, and was followed by the rest of his squadron, and by the same means.---That the English men of war had suffered so much in their masts, sails and rigging, that they were in no condition to pursue them; so that the French, greatly disabled, were, by the help of the land-breeze, and their frigates towing them, got safe into port. The French lost 300 men killed, and had as many wounded.

In the month of February Captain Elliot, in his Majesty's ship Hussar, took the Vengeance of

Captain
Forrest's
gallant
action.

Of Captain
Elliot.

^w The Intrepide, Opiniatre, Sceptre and Greenwich.

A. D
1758.

24 twelve and nine pounders, 20 swivels and 310 men; and the Torbay took a frigate of 26 guns, eighteen and twelve pounders, and 350 men, amongst whom were 100 gentlemen volunteers, fitted out on purpose, and cruising to take Captain Lockhart.

Of Captain
Faulkner.

His Majesty's ship Windsor, of 60 guns, Captain Faulkner, with the Escorte frigate, being sent to intercept two French frigates and three store-ships from Dunkirk-road to the westward, on the 27th of April, fell in with them about sixteen leagues from the Ram-Head, when the two frigates brought to in a line, as if they intended to receive him, and the store-ships continued standing to the westward. When the Windsor came within about two gun-shot of the frigates, they made all the sail they could towards the coast of France: upon which Captain Faulkner sent the Escorte after the store-ships, while he gave chase to the frigates, and continued it till four in the afternoon; when finding they greatly outailed him, he gave it over, and made after their convoy, which could then but just be discerned from the poop. The next morning, at day-light, only one of them was to be seen, which the Windsor came up with and took. She was called the St. Peter, of near 400 tons burden, and her cargo consisted of provisions, and 1000 stand of arms, intended for Quebec. Another of these store-ships was fallen in with, the same day, by a squadron of his Majesty's ships to the westward, commanded by Captain Pratten, and was taken by Captain Douglas

Douglas in the Alcide. She was called the Baden, about the same size with the other, and laden with provisions. A. D.
1758.

On the 29th, about three o'clock in the afternoon, Captain Pratten seeing a sail to the south-west, made a signal for the Dorsetshire, of 70 guns and 520 men, commanded by Captain Dennis, to give chase; and soon after, observing the chase to be a large ship, dispatched the Achilles, of 60 guns, commanded by the Honourable Captain Barrington, also after her, and then followed them with the rest of the squadron. About seven o'clock the Dorsetshire came up with the chase, which proved to be the Raifonable, a French ship of war of 64 guns, and 630 men, and Captain Dennis began to engage her very closely, and they continued warmly engaged till about nine o'clock, when the enemy's ship, commanded by the Prince de Mombazon, Chevalier de Rohan, struck, having suffered greatly in her hull, and had 61 men killed, and 100 wounded. She was going from l'Orient to Brest, a new ship, not above four or five months off the stocks. The Dorsetshire's masts, yard and sails, were greatly shattered. She had 15 men killed, and 21 wounded, in the action; and one of the wounded is since dead. Of Captain
Dennis.

On the 12th of March the Buckingham and Cambridge attacked and levelled with the ground, a small fort in Grand Ance-bay, on the Island of Martinico, and destroying three privateers, and converting the fourth into a tender. But what does the greatest honour to Captain Tyrrel, the commodore, is the following incident; when the Of Captain
Tyrrel.

A. D.
1758.

fort was demolished, a village situated close by it was a strong temptation to men flushed with victory to attack, and they solicited warmly for leave to destroy it, but their brave commander replied, "Gentlemen, it is beneath us to render a number of poor people miserable, by destroying their habitations and little conveniences of life; brave Englishmen scorn to distress even their enemies, when not in arms against them." This prevailed, and saved the lives of the innocent villagers.

Captures at
Jamaica.

Advices from Kingston in Jamaica, give an account that his Majesty's ship *Augusta*, Captain Forrest, commander, had brought in, to that port, the *Mars*, a French frigate of 32 guns, twelve, nine and six pounders, with her whole convoy, *Le Theodore*, of 22 guns; *La Marguretta*, of 16 guns; *Le St. Pierre*, of 16 guns; *Le Solide*, of 14 guns; *Le Flore*, of 14 guns; *Le Morrice le Grand*, of 18 guns; *Le Brilliant*, of 14 guns; and *Le Monette*, a brigantine of 10 guns, bound from Port Prince to Old France, laden with sugar, indigo, coffee, cotton, &c. which cost 170,000*l*. The *Mars* struck upon receipt of the first broadside, and all the rest followed her example.

Captain
Mantle's
gallant
action.

A few days after arrived, at the same port, the privateer-sloop *Thurloe*, mounting 14 carriage guns, with 84 men, belonging to St. Kitt's, and commanded by Captain Mantle, with his prize the *Deux Amis*, a French privateer, Captain Felix commander, mounting ten carriage guns, with 98 men, belonging to Port Louis. The

French-

A. D.
1758.

Frenchman bore down on Captain Mantle, who prepared to receive her, and being come very near, gave her a very warm salute, with both his great guns and small arms. The Deux Amis returned the compliment, and then made all the sail she could to get off. But the intrepid Mantle presently convinced him that he had met with a tartar, gave her chace, and soon ranged her along-side of the enemy. The Frenchman having no choice but to fight or to strike, and despairing of success by his great guns, resolutely boarded the Thurloe on her bow; which brought on the most bloody and obstinate engagement, that had been heard of in those seas for many years, both sides being determined to conquer or die. This bloody scene lasted almost three hours with pistols, swords, granadoes, powder flasks, &c. so that Captain Mantle expended near 300 powder flasks, 72 stinking pots, and 11 rounds of great and small arms; had ten men killed and twenty-five wounded: but the slaughter on board the Deux Amis was so great, that there were only ten men found capable of bearing arms^x.

Captain Douglas, of his Majesty's ship the Alcide, having intelligence of a French frigate, called the Felicite, of 36 guns, and a flute, called the

Of Captain
Douglas.

^x In the month of April, Admiral Broderick being ordered on board the Prince George man of war, appointed to carry him to the English fleet in the Mediterranean, and to convoy a numerous fleet of merchantmen for the Streights, where the admiral was to relieve Admiral Osborne, the said ship took fire

A. D.
1758.

the Robuste, of 24 guns, being sailed from Bourdeaux, with ordnance, shells and stores, for the forts

fire at sea, in broad day-light; of which we have the following accounts, which are worthy of attention.

From the Reverend Mr. Sharp, chaplain.

Glasgow, off Lisbon, April 20.

On Thursday the 13th instant, at half an hour past one in the afternoon, word was passed in the ward-room, by the centry, that the fore-part of our ship, the Prince George, was on fire. The lieutenants ran immediately forward, and myself, with many others, went directly on the quarter-deck, when we found the whole ship's crew was alarmed. The pumps were handed out, engine and buckets carried forward, and every immediate remedy applied. The admiral, with the lieutenants on watch, kept the quarter-deck, from whence he sent such orders as he thought most expedient for the preservation of the ship, and the souls in her. Captain Payton, and the lieutenants, on search, found that the fire broke out first in the boatswain's store-room, to which place large quantities of water were applied, but in vain; for the smoke was so very great and hot, that the poor creatures could not get near enough to the flames for their labour to have any effect. On which Captain Payton ordered skuttles to be made, that the water might be poured in by that means; but there he was defeated likewise, for only two carpenters could be found, and they had nothing to work with, for a long time, but a hammer and chissel each. The lower gun deck ports were then opened, but the water that flowed in was not sufficient to stop the violence of the flames. He ordered likewise the powder-room to be wetted, lest the ship should immediately be blown up, and every soul perish in an instant. This had the desired effect, and for some minutes we had glimmering hopes. I mention the above particulars, as I was below myself, worked with the men as long as I could stand it, went up for air, and returned again instantly, and consequently an eye-

forts, and the use of the men of war stationed at Hispaniola, steered a course to intercept them, and

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eye-witnesses, therefore declare them as facts. The fire soon increased, and raged violently aft on the larboard side; and as the destruction of the ship was now found inevitable, the preservation of the admiral was first consulted. Captain Payton came on the quarter-deck, and ordered the barge to be manned, into which the admiral entered with near forty more; for now there was no distinction, every man's life was equally precious. The admiral, finding the barge would upset, stripped himself naked, and committed himself to the mercy of the waves, and after toiling an hour he was at length taken up by a merchantman's boat. Captain Payton kept the quarter-deck an hour after the admiral left it, when he happily got into a boat from the stern ladder, and was put safe on board the Alderney sloop. I must be deficient even to attempt a description of the melancholy scene that was before me; shrieking, cries, lamentations, bemoanings, raving, despair, and even madness itself presented themselves. It was now high time to think of taking care of myself. I looked from every part of the ship for my preservation, and soon saw three boats off the stern of the ship. I went immediately to my cabin, and offered up my prayers to God, particularly thanking him for giving me such resolution and composure of mind. I then jumped into the sea from one of the gun-room ports, and swam to a boat, which put me safe on board the Alderney sloop. There are near 300 people saved, and more might have been saved had the merchantmen behaved like human creatures; but they kept a long way to windward the whole time; and if possible, to their greater shame be it spoken, instead of saving the men that swam to their boats, they were employed in taking up geese, fowls, tables, chairs, and whatever else of the kind came near them.

From Mr. Parry, an officer, dated as above.

About half past one at noon, being in the office adjoining to the cabin, I saw the admiral run out, with two or three officers;

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and was so lucky as, on the 15th of September, to come up with and to take the Robuste, about
20 leagues

ficers; on enquiring the cause, I was alarmed with the ship's being on fire forwards, and it was believed in the boatswain's fore store-room: every method was taken to extinguish it, but the smoke was so violent, no person could get near enough to find where the fire was. About half past two we made the signal of distress; but to render our situation more wretched, the fog came on very thick, and the wind freshened, and it was near four before the Glasgow and Alderney got intelligence of our condition; when they repeated the signal, hoisted out their boats, and stood towards us; but they not knowing we had taken care to float our powder, were under sad apprehensions we might blow up, and therefore could not (consistent with their own safety) give us the assistance our deplorable condition rendered us so much in need of. We attempted to scuttle the decks, to let the water on the fire, but the people could not stand a minute without being near suffocated. About half past four the smoke increased, and the flames began to break out: the admiral then ordered the boats to be hoisted out, got the barge out, and went off, promising to bring a ship along-side of us. I observed her so full her gunwale was almost with the water, and, in a few minutes after, saw her sink at some distance a-stern, and not above three or four were saved out of near forty, among whom it pleased God to preserve the admiral. The weather was now become clear, but none of the merchantmen would come near us. Our officers behaved well, and endeavoured to keep the people to the pumps and drawing water, but they now were become quite ungovernable. About a quarter before five Captain Payton left the ship, and promised as the admiral; but was not able to accomplish it. About five the long-boat was endeavoured to be got out, in which were near 100 people; but as they were hoisting her out, one of the tackles gave way, by which she overset, and almost every soul perished; we were now reduced to the greatest distress. You
may

20 leagues west of Cape Finisterre, laden with
6 twenty-four pounders, 12 eighteen pounders, 6
iron

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may have some idea of our miserable condition, when I tell you the ship began to be in flames fore and aft, spreading like flax; people distracted, not knowing what they did, and jumping over-board from all parts. I was reduced to the melancholly choice of either burning, with the ship, or going over-board. Very few that could swim were taken up, and I that could not swim must have very little hopes indeed. About a quarter past five I went into the admiral's stern gallery, where two young gentlemen were lashing two tables together for a raft; I assisted them, and one of them proposed to make fast the lashing to the gallery, and lower ourselves down to the tables, then cut the lashing, and commit ourselves to the mercy of providence: we hoisted over the table, but being badly lashed, one of them we lost; as soon as the other was down, I proposed to venture first, which they readily consented to: there was now three boats a-stern; this was the time or never; down I went by the rope; but as there was a great swell of sea, it was impossible for any one to follow me, and I was turned adrift. By the cries of the people from the ship to the boats, in about five minutes I was taken up, very near drowned.

715 complement.

30 passengers to Gibraltar.

745

260 saved.

485 lost.

745

From a midshipman, dated as above.

On Thursday the 13th, about half an hour past one in the afternoon, we were alarmed with fire in the boatswain's fore store room, which put us all into great disorder; and it being a very thick fog, we could not see one ship in the fleet. We kept firing guns of distress, and no ship appearing in sight for an hour, we were all in the greatest consternation; but the fog then dispelling, the Glasgow hailed us, to whom we told our condition, and earnestly begged of them to save our lives.

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iron mortars, 3000 shells thirteen inches diameter, and with cordage, canvas, flour, and several other stores.

The fire still increasing, we were obliged to hoist out our boats, which from our confusion were near three hours fixing to the tackles, &c. every body being engaged in preparing to save himself. The poop, stern, and quarter galleries, with the sides, were lined with men and boys, crying out in a most moving manner to be assisted. During this time, out of twenty-three sail of ships, we had but three boats to our assistance, and those would not come near the ship for fear of being sunk, the poor fellows continually jumping over-board; great numbers of whom were drowned in our fight.

We got our boats out, which never returned after going once. By this time the fire had communicated itself to the middle gun deck, and nobody could go down below, every one expecting his death every minute, either by fire or water, and were taking leave of each other. Soon after going out of the admiral's cabin, I saw the flames coming out in the hatchway of the upper gun-deck; I returned immediately, and took my leave of the petty officers that were there, and went over the starboard stern ladder, to save myself by swimming, and thanks be to Almighty God, reached a boat, and was taken up.

I had just got clear of the ship when the flames became general, and those poor unhappy wretches that could not swim, were obliged to remain upon the wreck, with the fire falling down upon them. Shortly after the masts went away, and killed numbers, and those that were not killed by the masts, thought themselves happy to get upon them. But the ship rolling, by reason of the great sea, the fire had communicated itself to the guns, which swept them off the deck in great numbers, they being all loaded and shotted,

Such a terrible sight the oldest men in the fleet say they never saw. Thus ended our unhappy ship, after burning six hours and a half, who had as complete a crew, and was as well manned as any ship that ever sailed from England.

Letter

stores. This was followed by the capture of the Caumartin privateer of Dunkirk, commanded by M. Jean

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1758.

Letter from the master of a merchantman under convoy of Admiral Broderick.

Thursday, April 13, Ushant bearing east sixty leagues distance, at noon I saw admiral Broderick hoist a signal of distress; upon which I made what sail I could and went down to him. At one in the afternoon I could discern the Prince George on fire; at two drew pretty near her, but thought they might have quenched the fire. At three o'clock I saw plainly there was no quenching it. I was within a hundred yards of her stern, but durst not venture a long-side, the sea beating high; besides, the going off of her guns, and danger of blowing up. At four in the afternoon the admiral was taken up swimming, by a merchant ship's boat, as then the ships that had boats were all out, and a good many of them lost. The weather proving bad, towards night I was within pistol-shot, and there remained some time; and picked up four of her crew; and had not two of my men run away with my boat the night before we sailed from St. Helen's, I am confident I could have saved sixty or eighty of them at least, as I was all the time nearer to them than any ship in the fleet. What made me venture so near was, that I knew my ship went well, and was under good command. At six, what a dismal sight! the masts and sails all in a blaze; hundreds of souls hanging by the ropes along-side, I could count fifty of them hanging over in the stern ladder, others in the sea on oars and pieces of wood; a melancholly spectacle; besides the dismal cries from the ship, which still ring in my ears. Half an hour past six the flames broke out at her broadside, and in less than five minutes every bit of her was in flames, and so continued till seven, when she over-set, but did not sink. I then ran within twenty yards of her, but my people compelled me to go further off, for fear of striking on the wreck. All I can further say of it, there never was a more shocking sight; pray God that I may never see the like

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Belli-
quieux
taken.

M. Jean Baptist de Cock, new from the stocks, mounting 16 six pounders, stuck full of swivels and musquetoons, burden 280 tons, and carrying 147 men. She was taken by his Majesty's ship the Southampton, Captain Gilchrist, after an obstinate engagement of almost three hours. But the most surprising capture was the Belliquieux, pierced for 66 guns, and had 64 mounted, with 417 men on board. This French man of war had got into Lundy-road. Which being noticed to Captain Saumerez, of his Majesty's ship Antelope, lying at Bristol, he sailed ^y in quest of the enemy; and beat down the Channel, as well as he could, with a contrary wind. And next day (the 1st of November) got sight of the Frenchman at anchor, below Ilfrecombe; who immediately weighed, stood towards the Antelope, hoisted her colours, as she drew near, and seemed prepared to engage: but soon after hauled them down. Being now within gun-shot, Captain Saumerez fired at the Frenchman, and, meeting with no return, sent a boat with his first lieutenant, to know if they had surrendered. The boat not returning, the Antelope bore down under her stern, and de-

again. It was very grievous for me that I could not save more of her men, without running the risk of sharing her fate. The 18th of April the Glasgow, a twenty gun ship, hoisted the signal for all masters of merchant ships to come on board, where the admiral had his flag hoisted, to know how many people we had saved amongst us, and to deliver them up. By the then list it appeared, that the admiral, Captain Payton, and about 253 men, were saved.

^y On the 31st of October, 1758.

manding,



ADMIRAL TYRRELL.



ALBERTA T. J. R. 1871

manding, whether she had struck, the *Belliqueux* answered in the affirmative, without firing a shot. She had taken the *Carnarvan* Indiaman in her passage; but had parted with her in a gale of wind: which was afterwards retaken by Admiral Boscawen's squadron. The *Belliqueux* was valued at 150,000 l.

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The *Rinoceros*, of 36 guns, 700 tons, from Quebec, was taken about the same time by the *Isis*, Captain Wheeler, who took out her people and sunk her. And two days after the *Buckingham*, of 65 guns, 472 men, able to do duty, Captain Richard (now Admiral) Tyrrel, commander, attacked the *Florissant* of 74 guns, and 700 men; a frigate of 38 guns, and 350 men, and another of 28 guns, and 250 men. The engagement was close and obstinate, in which the captain was wounded and obliged to leave the deck and the command to the brave Mr. Marshal, his first lieutenant, who, having with courage and dexterity brought the *Buckingham* close up to the *Florissant*, was killed by the first broadside. The second lieutenant took the command, and with equal bravery and conduct fought the ship till he made the enemy sheer off, with considerable damage in their ships, and loss of men. Whereas, the *Buckingham* had no more than seven men killed, 17 dangerously, and 31 slightly wounded.

Ships of
war taken
by the ene-
my.
Rinoceros!

Florissant.

Ships of
war taken
this year
from
France.

In the list of King's ships lost this year, we find the *Litchfield*, of 50 guns, Captain Barton, which being separated from Commodore Keppel's

Litchfield
shipwreck-
ed.

A. D.
1758.Ships of
war taken
by the ene-
my.

squadron by a storm off Cape Cantin, in their expedition against Goree, was stranded on the coast of Barbary. By which accident 130 men were drowned, and 220 were seized by the Moors and carried into slavery, till redeemed, at a vast expence, by the government. The Winchelsea man of war, of 24 guns, taken in her passage from South Carolina, by a French man of war of 64 guns, and a frigate of 36. In the windward passage, a French man of war of 74 guns, picked up the Stork sloop; and the Bolton tender was taken off Mounts Bay, by a snow privateer of 16 guns, after an engagement of three hours.

So that the account of the ships of war, taken from, and by the French in the course of this year, stands as follows :

Ships of
war taken
this year
from
France.*French ships of war taken or destroyed.*

Ships.	Guns.	By whom taken.
Foudroyant	80	Admiral Osborne.
Esperance	74	the Orford.
Alcide	64	Admiral Boscawen.
Lys	64	
Orpheus	64	Admiral Osborne.
Raisnable	64	the Dorsetshire.
Arc-en-Ciel	50	the Litchfield.
Duc d'Aquitain	50	the Eagle.
Aquilon	48	the Antelope.
Royal-Chariot	36	the Torbay.
Hermione	36	the Unicorn.
Melampe	34	the Tartar.
Emerald	34	the Southampton.

Nymph

Nymph	34	the Hampton-Court.	A. D.
Brune	30	the Hufar.	1758.
Galatea	22	the Effex.	

 784

English ships of war taken by the French,

Warwick	60	} In the West-Indies.
Greenwich	50	
Winchelsea	24	

 134

 650

Balance in favour of the
English.

In this year we have seen the British flag restored to its ancient dignity, and our enemies obliged to yield up the dominion of the seas to the superiority of the British navy.—A year, which will for ever record the wisdom of our national councils, the conduct of our officers, and the bravery of our men employed in the public service, both by sea and land; and the chearfulness, with which all ranks and denominations amongst the people contributed towards their support.—A year most severely felt by all that directly or indirectly ventured to disturb the peace, and interrupt the trade of the British dominions, or to carry on a clandestine commerce with the enemies of Great Britain.—A year, which demonstrated by the great increase of its commerce, that the strength and riches of the nation depend upon those measures,

Remarks
on the
events of
this year.

A. D.
1758.

which were then taken by the ministry to protect our navigation, and to beat all opposition out of the seas.

On the ad-
ministra-
tion.

The plan laid down by the ministry for the operations of this year, was to secure this island from invasion, and to defeat the schemes for ruining our colonies in America; in preference to any interest of our allies, on the continent; though not without paying a due regard to those treaties, and that interest, which require the aid of Britain in defence of the liberties of Europe in general, and of the protestant interest in particular.

For this purpose they did not apply to Hanover, Hesse and Holland, for a military aid, to be imported hither at an immense expence, to guard our coast against a French invasion: a measure, by which former ministers had lavished away the riches of the nation; exposed the British courage to the ridicule and contempt of the enemy; encouraged them to hector over a disarmed people, terrified by every report of their motions towards the coast of the Channel, and endangered the common liberty of these kingdoms, by placing our privileges, property and lives, under the protection of a foreign army. But they provided for our internal security by constituting a regular and well-disciplined militia, whose expence doth not amount to a tenth part of 10,000 foreign auxiliaries imported, and whose strength is ten times more to be relied upon. The hireling will flee in time of danger: but he, who takes up a weapon for

for self defence, will die rather than be made a
 slave. A. D.
1758.

Our fleets were not blocked up in the ports of England, to wait the delusive motions of the French armaments and preparations, pretended to waft their troops in flat-bottomed boats into Britain: neither was our army augmented to consume the national treasure in idleness at home, and in unprofitable and expensive encampments and parade.—The British navy was permitted to carry its power into the ocean, and the army to enter into actual service.—The happy fruits of which councils, were gathered in the conquest of Senegal, Goree, and Louisbourg, with other acquisitions in North America; and in the damages done to the enemy on the coast of France, exclusive of the destruction of the French navy, and the total stop put to their trade and commerce, both in their own and in neutral bottoms. Yet these great and glorious advantages are no more than an earnest of that success, which was obtained afterwards by the vigorous measures now adopted.

Till now the British lion had not been at liberty On British
courage. to make use of his natural weapons, and to exert his strength; nor in a situation to give proofs of his conduct and courage.—A long series of pacific measures had almost worn out the veterans, and the navy and army were too much under the command of fine gentlemen, whose gaities, pleasures, self-indulgence, and connections with those men in power, that preferred any measures to a necessary war, were bad incitements to military glory.
 Yet,

A. D.
1758.

Yet, that innate courage, which will always discover itself in the English, when led on to action, was no sooner delivered from the toils, which had for many years kept them in a state of inactivity, but we saw them brave all dangers: St. Maloes and Cherburg felt the power of their arms: St. Cas is a monument of their intrepidity: and the undaunted resolution, with which the landing was made at Gabarus-bay, shews that our seamen and soldiers only wanted an opportunity to convince the world, that they are the descendents of those heroes, who conquered France, and for ages heretofore maintained the dominion of the seas.

How far those measures tended towards composing all murmurings at home, and to influence foreign states in our favour, was immediately seen in the uniting of parties for promoting the national interest, and in that weight, which our advantages had amongst some persons abroad, who might otherwise have been induced by family attachments and Gallic intrigue, to join our natural enemies.

By the measures, upon which the operations of this year were executed, our enemies were deprived of those means, without which it was impossible to continue that war with advantage, which they began with hopes to ruin their neighbours. Their navigation was entirely ruined; and their device to avail themselves of the friendship of Dutch carriers, turned out, not only to their greater loss, but furnished England with an opportunity to convince a treacherous ally, that whoever,

ever, under the cover of a neutrality, take upon them to council, to aid or to support the enemies of Great Britain, must expect to be treated, as her professed enemies, when taken in the act of covering the enemy's property.

A. D.
1758.

Their distress in France at this juncture is not to be described. The new manner of attacking them, this summer, threw their ministry into confusion. The moment that the French were made to feel the weight of our natural strength, their councils, which had been cried up so much for unanimity and consistency, were divided, confused, and rendered incapable of doing any thing effectually, either for invading us, or for defending their own trade and dominions. Nothing prospered in their cabinet, nothing succeeded in their operations, to effect, either by sea or land, during the whole year. Their merchants were no longer able to support their credit, their manufactures were at a stand, and their whole land mourned over the ravages made by the distresses of a bloody, expensive, inglorious, and ruinous war.

Distress of
France.

From the time we adopted those measures, the nation has not been terrified by reports of a French army to invade us, and to cut our throats. We have had no heart burnings at home about raising of money to carry on a war for the sole advantage of some petty ally; neither has our trade and commerce been exposed to the force of our enemies, nor to the treachery of our false friends.

Flourish-
ing state of
Great Bri-
tain.

The flourishing state of our colonies, of our islands, of all our settlements and kingdoms, both
for

A. D.
1758.

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Flourish-
ing state of
Great Bri-
tain.

The flourishing state of our colonies, of our islands, of all our settlements and kingdoms, both
for

A. D.
1758.

for their imports and exports, in the course of the year past, exceed all that ever was before. Our merchants and manufacturers, our planters and navigators, were never in so fair a way to serve themselves and their country. Both riches and seamen increased under the protection of a well-regulated and appointed navy. The nation that can best protect their trade, will be always most capable of finding the sinews of war; and the most extensive navigation is most likely to turn out the greatest number of able bodied seamen, without which a maritime nation cannot subsist.

Such was the state of the nation when the parliament met, on the 23d day of November. The session was opened by commission: and his Majesty being indisposed, the Lord Keeper, by his Majesty's command, made the following speech.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

The
King's
speech.

IN pursuance of the authority given to us by his Majesty's commission under the great seal, amongst other things to declare the causes of his holding this parliament, his Majesty has been graciously pleased to direct us to assure you, that he always receives the highest satisfaction, in being able to lay before you any events, that may promote the honour and interest of his kingdoms.

That, in consequence of your advice, and enabled by that assistance, which you unanimously gave him, his Majesty has exerted his endeavours to carry on the war in the most vigorous manner, in order to that desirable end, always to be wished;

a safe

a safe and honourable peace. It has pleased the divine Providence to bless his Majesty's measures and arms with success in several parts: and to make our enemies feel, that the strength of Great Britain is not to be provoked with impunity.

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We have it also in command from his Majesty to acquaint you, that the conquest of the strong fortrefs of Louisburg, with the islands of Cape Breton and St. John; the taking of Frontenac, of the highest importance to our operations in North America, and the reduction of Senegal; cannot fail to bring great distress upon the French commerce, and colonies; and, in proportion, to procure great advantages to our own. That nation has also been made sensible, that, whilst their forces are sent forth to invade and ravage the dominions of their neighbours, their own coasts are not inaccessible to his Majesty's fleets and armies. This they have experienced in the demolition of their works at Cherburg, erected at a great expence, with a particular view to annoy this country; and in the loss of a great number of ships and vessels; but no treatment, however injurious to his Majesty, could tempt him to make retaliation on the innocent subjects of that crown.

In Germany, his Majesty's good brother the King of Prussia, and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, have found full employment for the armies of France, and her confederates; from which our operations, both by sea, and in America, have derived the most evident advantage. Their successes, owing, under God, to their able conduct, and

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1758.

and the bravery of his Majesty's troops and those of his allies, have been signal and glorious.

His Majesty has further commanded us to observe to you, that the common cause of liberty and independency is still making noble and vigorous efforts, against the unnatural union formed to oppress it. That the commerce of his subjects, the source of our riches, has, by the vigilant protection received from his Majesty's fleet, flourished in a manner not to be paralleled during such troubles. In this state of things, his Majesty, in his wisdom, thinks it unnecessary to use many words to persuade you to bear up against all difficulties; effectually to stand by, and defend his Majesty; vigorously to support the King of Prussia, and the rest of his Majesty's allies; and to exert yourselves to reduce our enemies to equitable terms of accommodation.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

The uncommon extent of this war, in different parts, occasions it to be uncommonly expensive. This his Majesty has ordered us to declare to you, that he sincerely laments, and feels deeply for the burdens of his people. The several estimates are ordered to be laid before you; and his Majesty desires only such supplies, as shall be requisite to push the war with advantage, and be adequate to the necessary services.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

His Majesty has, in the last place, graciously commanded us to assure you, that he takes so much
satis-

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1758.

satisfaction in that good harmony, which subsists amongst his faithful subjects, that it is more proper for him now to thank you for it, than to repeat his exhortations to it. This union, necessary at all times, is more especially so in such critical conjunctures; and his Majesty doubts not, but the good effects we have found from it, will be the strongest motives to you to pursue it.

This speech was received with great approbation by both houses of parliament, who had never heard such an enumeration of national advantages, in return for the supplies, they had raised for the support of wars, under former administrations^z.

Remarks,
and the addresses of
both
houses.

They

^z *The humble address of the right honourable the Lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled.*

Die Jovis, 23^o Novembris, 1758.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, beg leave to approach your throne, with hearts full of that duty and affection to your sacred person and government, which become the most faithful subjects to the best of kings.

That constant regard and attention, which your Majesty has shewn to the honour and interest of your kingdoms, have filled our minds with the most grateful sentiments, and we see, with real satisfaction, those active and vigilant efforts, which your Majesty, in your great wisdom, has made, to carry on the war with vigour, in order to the desirable end, which we all wish, a safe and honourable peace.

Justice and good policy required, that our enemies should feel, how dangerous it is for them to provoke the spirit and strength of the British nation. We acknowledge, with becoming

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1758.

They acknowledge their real satisfaction with the measures that had been taken : and sincerely congratulated

coming thankfulness, the goodness of the divine Providence, in having crowned your Majesty's measures and arms with success, in several parts ; and we joyfully congratulate your Majesty, on the conquest of the strong fortrefs of Louisbourg, with the islands of Cape Breton and St. John, the taking of Frontenac, and the reduction of Senegal. The high importance of these successes is apparent, in the reputation thereby acquired to your Majesty's arms, and in the distress they cannot fail to bring upon the French commerce and colonies, as well as in the happy effects procured to those of Great Britain.

We have seen, with the warmest emotions of resentment, the exorbitant devastations committed by the armies of France, upon the dominions of your Majesty, and those of your allies, in Germany. They must now have experienced how much, in consequence of their unbounded ambition to invade their neighbours, their own coasts are exposed, in the demolition of their expensive works at Cherburg, particularly intended for the annoyance of this country ; and in the loss of so many ships and vessels, as well privateers as others, in their ports. At the same time, we cannot sufficiently admire your Majesty's magnanimity and moderation, in not having hitherto retaliated, on the innocent subjects of that crown, the injurious treatment which you have received.

We have a just sense of the real advantages derived to the operations of Great Britain in particular, as well as to the common cause in general, from the wise conduct of the King of Prussia, and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. Their great abilities, and the bravery of your Majesty's troops, and those of your allies, have been signally conspicuous in the successes, with which they have been attended, and must be acknowledged by all Europe.

Nothing can possibly be of greater national importance, than the navigation and commerce of your subjects ; and we
return

gratulated his Majesty on the success of his arms. They were sensible of the importance of our conquests ;

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return your Majesty our dutiful thanks for that protection and security, which they have received from your royal care, in the disposition of your fleet, to which their present flourishing condition is so much owing. The stagnation of our enemy's trade, and the taking and destroyed so many of their capital ships of war, ought, in this view, to be reckoned amongst the most happy events.

Permit us to declare our grateful sense of that paternal tenderness, which your Majesty has expressed for the burdens of your people. We receive from thence the strongest encouragement to adhere, the more firmly, to the cause of the protestant religion and public liberty, against any unnatural union formed to oppress it. In this just cause we will, to our utmost, effectually stand by and defend your Majesty ; support the King of Prussia, and the rest of your allies ; and vigorously exert ourselves to reduce our enemies to equitable terms of accommodation.

Our duty and fidelity to your Majesty, and our zeal for the protestant succession in your royal family, are uniform and unalterable ; our prayers for the prolongation of your precious life, and auspicious reign over us, are sincere and fervent ; and we beg leave to give your Majesty the strongest assurances, that nothing shall be wanting, on our part, to improve union and good harmony amongst all your subjects, for promoting and securing these interesting and essential objects.

His Majesty's most gracious answer.

My Lords,

I return you my hearty thanks for this very dutiful and affectionate address. The satisfaction which you express in my measures, and the zeal you shew for my honour and support, the true interest of my kingdoms, and the assistance of my allies, as well as for pursuing the war with vigour, are highly acceptable to me : they cannot fail to produce the best effects in the present conjuncture.

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quests ; and with the warmest emotions resented the French inhumanity towards our German allies.

They

The honourable the House of Commons presented their address to his Majesty, which was as follows :

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, return your Majesty our most sincere and hearty thanks for the speech delivered, by your Majesty's command, to both houses of parliament.

We beg leave to congratulate your Majesty, with hearts full of the most unfeigned joy, upon the many signal successes, with which it has pleased divine Providence to bless your Majesty's measures and arms in several parts of the world ; particularly in the important conquest of the strong fortress of Louisbourg, with the islands of Cape Breton and St. John ; the taking of Frontenac, so essential to our operations in North America ; the reduction of the valuable settlement of Senegal ; the total demolition of the harbour and works of Cherbourg, erected at so great expence by the enemy, with a particular view to annoy this country ; and the destruction of the shipping and privateers in the ports of France.

Your Majesty's faithful Commons feel, with the highest satisfaction, how greatly these events redound to the honour and interests of your Majesty's kingdoms, to the upholding the reputation of the British arms, and to the maintaining and extending the glories of your Majesty's reign.

We have the most lively sense of these happy consequences (under God) of your Majesty's wisdom in the powerful exertion of the naval force of these kingdoms, to the annoyance and distress of the fleets, trade, and navigation of France, whilst the commerce of Great Britain flourishes in full protection and security ; and at the same time, of your Majesty's justice and magnanimity, in steadily supporting your allies,
and

They allowed that the operations of Great Britain in America, &c. received real advantages from the
and in carrying on with vigour, in all parts, this arduous and necessary war.

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It is with joy and admiration we see the glorious efforts made in Germany, by your Majesty's great ally the King of Prussia, and those made by Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, seconded by the valour of your Majesty's troops, and those of your allies; and that full employment has thereby been given to all the armies of France, and of her confederates: from which, our operations, both by sea and in America, have received the most evident and important advantages.

Permit us to assure your Majesty, that your faithful Commons, justly animated in defence of the rights of your Majesty's crown, and of the protestant religion, and the common cause of liberty and independency, against the dangerous union, which hath been formed to oppress them, will bear up against all difficulties, and exert themselves to the utmost, by granting to your Majesty such supplies as shall be necessary, effectually to stand by, and defend your Majesty, and vigorously to support the King of Prussia, and the rest of your Majesty's allies; firmly relying on the wisdom and goodness of your Majesty, that the same will be applied, in the properest manner, to push the war with advantage, and to reduce the enemy to equitable terms of a safe, honourable, and lasting peace.

We beg leave, also, to express our most grateful sense of the paternal satisfaction your Majesty takes, in that good harmony, which subsists amongst your faithful subjects; and of your Majesty's gracious acceptance of the universal zeal and affection of your people; which salutary union hath enabled us so effectually to exert our strength abroad, and hath preserved, at home, tranquillity, safety, and public credit; and we trust, that the continuance of the same truly national spirit will, by the blessing of God, be attended with the like happy effects for the future.

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the war in Germany, and promised, to their utmost, effectually to stand by and defend his Majesty; and support the King of Prussia, and the rest of his allies. They thank'd him for his royal care in the disposition of the fleet, to which the flourishing condition of our trade was so much owing: and reckon'd the stagnation of the enemy's trade, and the taking and destroying so many of their capital ships of war amongst the most happy events^z. And we shall see that the parliament of

His Majesty's most gracious answer.

Gentlemen,

I return you my thanks for your dutiful and affectionate address; and for this fresh mark of your unanimous zeal in defence of me and my crown, and of my good brother the King of Prussia, and the rest of my allies.

You may depend on my constant endeavours for the preservation of my kingdoms, their trade, and colonies; and for the liberties of Europe.

^z *Ships of war taken from the French since Midsummer, 1755.*

Guns.

Taken by

64 Alcide } By Admiral Boscawen in North America.

64 * Lys } * *mounted only 24 when taken.*

50 — In North America, by the Norwich and Litchfield.

36 Chariot Royal, Flute. In the Bay of Biscay, by the Torbay.

16 Escarboucle, Corvette. In the channel, by the Isis.

26 Emeralde, off Brest, by the Southampton,

28 Hermione, in the Bay, by the Unicorn,

28 Bienacquise, in ditto, by the Sheerness.

80 Foudroyant, } in the Mediterranean, by Adm. Osborne.

64 Orphee,

22 Galatee, in the Bay, by the Essex.

64 Raisable, in ditto, by the Dorsetshire.

2.

44 Loue

of Great Britain did not mean these addresses to be mere echo or compliment to their sovereign, but

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44 Loue, Flute, mounted only 36, when taken in the Mediterranean, by the St. Albans.

64 Bienfaissant
36 Diana
26 Eccho } at Louisbourg, by Admiral Boscawen.

16 Guirlande, in the channel, by the Rainbow.

14 Hanovre, in ditto, by the Lizard,

64 Belliqueux, in Bristol channel, by the Antelope.

800 Guns.

French ships of war lost since that time.

74 Esperance, sunk in the Bay, by the Orford.

64 Leopard, burnt at Louisbourg.

30 Concord, lost in the Bay.

46 Junon, lost at the entrance of Mahon harbour,

48 Aquilon, destroyed by the Antelope.

24 Nymphe, burnt by the Hampton-Court, on the island of Majorca.

36 Brune, sunk in the Bay, by the Hussar and Dolphin.

24 Mutine, lost on the dogger bank.

64 Opiniatre
64 Eveille } lost at Brest.

50 Greenwich }
50 ——— burnt on the stocks at St. Maloes.

74 Entreprenant
74 Prudent
64 Capricieux
64 Celebre } All sunk or otherwise destroyed at Louis-
50 Apollon } bourg.
24 Fidele
16 Biche
16 Cherre

26 Rose, burnt on the island of Majorca, by the Monmouth.

16 Rhinoceros, sunk in the Bay, by the Isis.

998 Guns. Besides two frigates, names unknown, burnt at St. Maloes.

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but that they were in earnest, and acted conformable to those declared sentiments; and that they had the pleasure to find their acts to be entirely satisfactory to their constituents, as well as to the court.

The irreconcilable disposition of the belligerent powers made it apparent, that the only way to procure an honourable and lasting peace was not to abate in our vigour, but as much as possible to exert the power of Great Britain: and as this would add to the burden of the war, the Commons, with the greatest chearfulness and unanimity, voted 12,749,860 l.^b for to enable his Majesty

The grants
for the year
1759.

Ships of war taken by the French in that time.

Guns.

Taken by

60 Warwick, in the West-Indies, by D'Aubigny's Squadron.

50 Greenwich, in ditto, by Beaufremont's.

110 Guns.

English ships lost during that time.

66 Mars, in Hallifax harbour.

60 Tilbury, off Louisbourg.

74 Invincible, near Langston harbour.

80 Prince George, burnt going to the Mediterranean.

280 Guns.

^b Grants for the year 1759.

For 60,000 seamen, including 14,845 marines, and	£.
ordnance for sea service	3,120,000
For 52,343 effective men for guards and garrisons,	
and other land forces in Great Britain, Guernsey,	
and Jersey	1,256,131
For the pay of the general and staff officers, and	
officers of the hospital	52,484
	For

jefty to perform the intentions of his speech. It will also be an illustrious and perpetual monument to

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1758.

For the forces and garrisons in the plantations and Gibraltar, and for provisions for the garrisons in Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Providence, Cape Breton, and Senegal	£.	742,531
For four regiments of foot, and one battalion, on the Irish establishment, serving in North America and Africa		40,879
For the charge of the office of ordnance for land service		220,790
For the extra-expenditure of the ordnance in 1758, not provided for		323,988
For the ordinary of the navy, including the half-pay to sea officers		238,491
For the support of Greenwich hospital		10,000
For 38,000 of the troops of Hanover, Wolfenbuttle, Saxe Gotha, and Buckeburg, with the general and staff officers		398,698
For 19,012 Hessians, with the general and staff officers, and the officers of the hospital, and train of artillery, pursuant to treaty		339,480
Towards defraying the charges of forage, &c. for the army under Prince Ferdinand		500,000
Towards paying off the debt of the navy		1,000,000
For allowance to the officers and private men of the horse guards, and regiment of horse reduced, and the superannuated men of the horse guards		2,959
To the reduced officers of the land forces and marines		34,368
For the pensions of widows of ditto, married before December 25, 1716		2,128
To the King of Prussia, pursuant to the convention		670,000
To the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, pursuant to treaty		60,000
To defray the like sum, raised last sessions, and charged upon the first aids		800,000

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to the minister's honour, that this sum, which exceeds any that ever had been granted in that house

For building, rebuilding, and repairing his Majesty's ships	£.
For the out pensioners of Chelsea hospital	200,000
For widening and enlarging the passage over London bridge	26,000
To the Foundling hospital	15,000
For transport service, and victualling the land forces for 1758.	50,000
For supporting the colony of Nova Scotia for 1759	667,772
For defraying the charges of supporting ditto in 1757	9,902
For the civil establishment of Georgia, from June 24, 1758, to June 24, 1759	11,279
To make good the deficiency of the additional duty on licences for retailing wine, the duty on coals exported, &c. on the 5th of July 1758	4,052
To make good the deficiency of the duty on glass and spirituous liquors	24,371
For supporting the British forts on the coast of Africa	8,882
To Roger Long, D. D. Lowndes's astronomical and geometrical professor at Cambridge, for discharging a mortgage upon an estate devised by Thomas Lowndes, Esq; (inventor of a method for meliorating brine salt) for the endowment of the said professorship, and other expences of the said Dr. Long	10,000
For paying and cloathing the militia to the 25th of March 1760	1,280
For the extra-expences of the land forces, &c. in 1758, not provided for	90,000
For fortifying Chatham dock	466,786
For fortifying Portsmouth town	708
For fortifying Plymouth citadel	6,937
For fortifying Milford haven	25,159
	10,000
	For

house before, was given with pleasure and harmony. Such was the implicit confidence of the representatives, and of the whole people in ONE man, whose integrity and zeal for his country's welfare they did not doubt; and of whose spirit and abilities for humbling the enemy they had already seen such examples, that they could not but rely on his known honesty and vigilance to-

A. D.
1758.

Their faith
in his Ma-
jesty's
councils.

For paying the debts upon the estate forfeited to the crown by the attainder of Lord John Drummond	£, 69,911
To the East India company for defending their settlements	20,000
To the provinces in North America, for the expences of troops raised by them	200,000
To the innholders on which the Hessian troops were billeted in 1758	2,500
For augmenting the salaries of the judges in Great Britain *	11,450
To the widow of Nicholas Hardinge, Esq; for the ballance of an account for printing the journals of the House of Commons	779
For interest for money laid out to purchase lands about Chatham, Portsmouth, and Plymouth	1,716
For purchasing lands about ditto	2,443
To defray any extra-expence of the war in 1759	1,000,000
Total	12,749,860

* To the puisne judges of the King's Bench, and all of the Common Pleas 500 l. each; the chief baron of the Exchequer 1000 l. the rest of the barons 500 l. To the judges in Scotland, viz. the president of the court of Session, and chief baron of the Exchequer, 300 l. each; and to the other judges of these courts 200 l. each. To the justices of Chester and Wales, viz. to the chief justice of Chester 200 l. and to each of the justices of the Great Sessions in Wales 150 l.

wards

A. D.
1758.

The Com-
mons
thanks to
Admiral
Osborne,
and his an-
swer.

wards the British power and interest. A conduct, not supported by faction, but roused by the minister's intrepidity, firmness and vigilance, to revenge the national injuries upon a perfidious enemy.

The House of Commons did further express their approbation of the measures pursued against France, by ordering their thanks, by the Speaker,

The Right Honourable the Speaker acquainted the house, that in obedience to their commands, he had signified to Admiral Osborne their thanks, and had received the following answer:

S I R,

I want words to express my sense of the honour the house of Commons has been pleased to confer upon me, and only hope that you, Sir, will be as gracious to me in representing my gratitude to that august assembly, as you have been in acquainting me with their favourable acceptance of my services. I have done no more than my duty. I have only been the humble, though happy, instrument of executing the wise measures directed by his Majesty.

I have no title, Sir, to any glory, but what is common to me as a seaman, and as an Englishman zealous for the service of my country, which is pleased to reward me with this instance of their approbation. From the situation of my health, Sir, I can flatter myself with having but few opportunities of employing the remainder of my life, in a grateful exertion of my abilities for the honour and interest of my country. But as the house of Commons is so gloriously watchful to encourage the greatest merit, by rewarding the least, England can never want good officers; and however honoured I am by this distinction, may my services be the most inconsiderable, that shall be thus acknowledged. I am, with the greatest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient, and

Most humble servant,

HENRY OSBORNE.

Dec. 8, 1758.



**The Hon^{ble} EDWARD BOSCAWEN, Admiral
of the Blue Squadron.**

HENRY OSBORNE

Dec. 8. 1758.

Admiral Osborne, for his vigilance and service in the Mediterranean, whereby the enemy was deprived of the service of one half of their naval force and of the means to relieve Loubourg, &c. And To Admiral Botswan, returned from the conquest of Loubourg, having taken his seat in the house (on the 12th) the speaker returned to an order of the Commons on the 13th gave him their thanks as he stood in his place in these words, with an air of sweet civility, directed to the importance of the subject and to the assembly, which it was spoken

Admiral Botswan

THE house has unanimously resolved, that thanks should be given to you for the services you have done to your King and country in North America; and it is my duty to convey their thanks to you. I wish I could do it in a more public manner to the occasion, and as they ought to be given to you now standing in your place, as a member of this house.

But were I able to enunciate and set forth in the best manner the great and various services, acting to this nation from the conquest of Loubourg, and the islands of Cape Breton and St. John, I could only express a repetition of what has already been said, the genuine and uniform sense and language of every part of the kingdom.

Then

to Admiral Osborne, for his vigilance and service in the Mediterranean, whereby the enemy was deprived of the service of one half of their naval force, and of the means to relieve Louisbourg, &c. And Admiral Boscawen, returned from the conquest of Louisbourg, having taken his seat in the house, (on the 12th) the Speaker, pursuant to an order of the Commons on the 6th, gave him their thanks as he stood in his place, in these words, with an air of awful dignity, suitable to the importance of the subject, and to the assembly in which it was spoken.

A. D.
1758.

To Admiral
Boscawen.

Admiral Boscawen!

THE house have unanimously resolved, that thanks should be given to you for the services you have done to your King and country in North America; and it is my duty to convey their thanks to you.

I wish I could do it in a manner suitable to the occasion, and as they ought to be given to you, now standing in your place, as a member of this house.

But were I able to enumerate and set forth, in the best manner, the great and extensive advantages accruing to this nation from the conquest of Louisbourg, with the islands of Cape Breton and St. John, I could only exhibit a repetition of what has already been, and is, the genuine and uniform sense and language of every part of the kingdom.

Their

A. D.
1758.

Their joy too has been equal to their sentiments upon this interesting event; and in their sentiments and joy they have carried their gratitude also to you, Sir, as a principal instrument in these most important acquisitions.

You are now therefore receiving the acknowledgments of the people, only in a more solemn way—by the voice, the general voice, of their representatives in parliament:—The most honourable fame that any man can arrive at, in this, or any other country. It is, on these occasions, a national honour, from a free people; ever cautiously to be conferred, in order to be the more esteemed—to be the greater reward; and which ought to be reserved for the most signal services to the state, and the most approved merit in them: such as this house has usually, and very lately, made their objects of public thanks.

The use, I am persuaded, you will make of this just testimony, and high reward of your services and merit, will be the preserving in your own mind a lasting impression of what the Commons of Great Britain are now rendering to you, and in a constant continuance of the zeal and ardour for the glory of your King and country, which have made you to deserve it.

In obedience to the commands of the house I do, with great pleasure to myself, give you the thanks of the house, for the services you have done to your King and country in North America.

Upon

Upon which Admiral Boscawen said ;

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1758.

Mr. Speaker !

I am happy in having been able to do my duty : but have not words to express my sense of the distinguishing reward, that has been conferred upon me by this house : nor can I enough thank you, Sir, for the polite and elegant manner, in which you have been pleased to convey to me the resolution of the house.

Admiral
Boscaw-
en's an-
swer.



THE

THE
GENERAL HISTORY
OF THE
LATE WAR.

BOOK IV.

Containing the progress of the war between the allies and France, and between the grand confederates and the King of Prussia. The battles of Bergen and Minden by Prince Ferdinand. The battles of Zullichau and of Cunnersdorf, by the Prussians. The various success of the Imperialists, Austrians and Prussians in Saxony, Silesia, Lusatia, &c. The measures of the British councils, and the success of their arms, in the West Indies and North America. The conquest of Guadaloupe. The battle and surrender of Quebec, and conquest of Canada, Ticondaroga, Crown-Point and Niagara. A French invasion defeated by our operations on the coast of France, and the destruction of their fleet from Toulon, by Admiral Boscawen off Lagos, and from Brest by Admiral Hawke off Belleisle. The war in the East Indies. The surrender of Surat.
The

The treachery of the Dutch. The French defeated by Colonel Clive in Bengal, and their fleet by Admiral Pocock. Peace offered to their enemies, by his Britannic Majesty and the King of Prussia.

THE parliament having granted almost two millions for the sole purpose of carrying on the war in Germany, exclusive of the extraordinary expence of transporting and recruiting our national troops, in actual service upon that part of the continent; of the train of artillery, convoys, forage, hospitals and other contingencies of a campaign; the subsidy was paid to Prussia, renewed under the same conditions, as had been stipulated by last year's treaty; and the army, under Prince Ferdinand, was strengthened by fresh reinforcements from England, augmented with German recruits, and supplied with every necessary and convenience required to enable, and to encourage them to face their enemies. But the French, by an act of perfidy, at which they never boggle, when it is to their advantage to break their faith, had cut his Highness off from some resources, which deprived him of many benefits for the opening of the campaign, and facilitated their own operations.

This was the surprize of the neutral Imperial city of Franckfort. Without which the chain of communication, established by the Austrian confederates, at the close of the last campaign, could not have answered the intention of the French opera-

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1759.

Franckfort
surprized
treacher-
ously by
the French.

A. D.
1759.

operations against the army of the allies under Prince Ferdinand. This city secured to them that communication with the Austrians and Imperialists, and a supply of every necessary for their army by the course of the Upper Rhine and the Maine from Mentz, Spire, Worms and Alsace.

In what
manner.

The method the French took to gain this important post, was first a demand of free passage only for the regiment of Nassau. Which was granted on condition of being escorted through the city by a detachment of its garrison, under the promise and good faith of observing strict discipline, and of committing no act against the neutrality, and the franchises. But when the French regiment had penetrated as far as the gate of Saxenhausen, the obsequious transmigrants halted, drew up in battle array and disarmed their guards, and in the midst of the surprize and confusion of the citizens, they were immediately supported by five more French regiments, who seized upon the city, and there established the head-quarters of their General, Prince de Soubize, on the 2d of January, 1759.

Prince
Ferdinand
resolves to
dislodge
them.

Prince Ferdinand soon felt the effects of this situation of his enemy; and was convinced of the necessity to open the campaign with measures to dislodge the French from Franckfort. But was retarded, till the month of April, by an irruption of the Imperialists into Hesse, about the latter end of February; against whom he was obliged to detach a considerable party of horse and foot, under General Urst, who was ordered to assemble

at

A. D.
1759.

at Rhotenburg, and to march towards Vacha. Urst executed his orders with such success, that he surprized the enemy in their quarters in the night between the 1st and 2d of March; took some of them, and obliged the rest to retire, and to evacuate Vacha, Hirschfeld and all the Hessian bailiwicks. Which laid the foundation of several skirmishes in this quarter. The Austrians, supported by a strong corps of French from Franckfort, returned and drove the Hanoverians out of their acquisitions: and this united force was, on the 31st of the same month, surprized once more, and severely handled by the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, who led a considerable body of troops through ways deemed impassable, and killed and made prisoners a battalion of Wurtemburghers, a regiment of cuirassiers at Molrichstadt, besides two battalions of grenadiers, belonging to the Elector of Cologne, and some light troops, with a considerable magazine at Memingen; and a battalion at Wafungen, after a smart encounter with, and the defeat of, General d'Arberg, detached with a strong corps of Austrians to its relief. In the mean time the Duke of Holstein succeeded in dislodging the French from Freyensteinau, where a captain and his company were made prisoners of war. Which struck such a terror upon the enemy's scattered parties, in those quarters, that they all fell back towards Bamberg.

Prince Ferdinand having succeeded in these previous operations, and provided a corps of 11 or 12,000 men to guard Hanover, Hesse and parts

A. D.
1759.

The battle
of Bergen.

adjacent from a surprize, he marched, on the 10th of April, with about 30,000 choice troops drawn from the Lippe and from Hesse^a, to carry his design against Franckfort into execution before the French reinforcement could arrive in that city. But the M. Duke de Broglio being apprised of Prince Ferdinand's motions, and of the rout of the army under his command, penetrated into his intention, and seized (on the 12th) upon the strong post near Bergen, a village which lies between Franckfort and Harman, and must be forced before the allied army could have advanced to Franckfort. Accordingly, on the 13th, his Serene Highness meeting with this unexpected obstruction, did not hesitate a moment, but being arrived at nine in the morning facing the enemy, drawn up in order of battle, to receive them, he made his dispositions behind a rising ground, that covered his troops, from whence they sallied about ten o'clock, and the grenadiers of the advanced guards immediately began the attack upon the village of Bergen, with great impetuosity; in which were posted eight German battalions, supported by several brigades of French foot, placed behind that village. They were received with a very brisk fire from these troops; and though they were supported by several battalions, under Prince Ysembourg, who did all that an able and valiant General could

^a Composed of all the Hessian cavalry and infantry, of all the Brunswick battalions, ten squadrons of Prussian dragoons, three regiments of English horse, seven battalions and six squadrons of Hanoverian dragoons.

do,

do, till he fell in the action, and his troops being over-powered were obliged to retreat in some disorder. However, they rallied again and made three attacks, in the space of two hours and a half; but were not able to carry their point. It was now the chief consideration of the Prince how to retreat with honour and with safety, in the fight of a superior enemy. This could not be done by main force. Stratagem was to supply the want of strength. The day was not half spent. Night was the only means to cover the retreat. His Serene Highness, in this embarrassment, put on an air of resolution to renew the battle with greater vigour. After remaining some time behind the rising ground, that covered the dispositions of the allied army in the morning, he made a shew of another attempt, by separating his infantry into two bodies, one on the right and another on the left, and placed his cavalry in the center, with a small column of infantry before it. This carried the appearance of an intention to attack both the village of Bergen, which made the right of Broglie's army, and secured his flanks and center, and to attack the wood on his left, where the whole body of Saxons were stationed; and, if either of these attacks should succeed, to fall directly upon his center. But, though Prince Ferdinand carried this countenance of continuing the attack, and brought up a great number of cannon, with which they kept a brisk cannonade against the village; and also against the wood, where the volunteers were posted, nothing more was at-

A. D.

1759.

Over-powered.

Retreats in good order.

By a stratagem.

A. D.
1759.

Loss on
both sides.

Prince
Ferdinand's
conduct
applauded.

Franckfort
remains in
the hands
of the
French.

Operations
of the
French.

tempted the whole day, but to gain time by amusing the French general, till night came on, when the allies fell back to Windeken without molestation, with the loss of Prince Ysembourg, General Gilfoe, Count Schulembourg, and about 2000 men, with five pieces of cannon left in the village. The French acknowledge their loss to be considerable.

The conduct of Prince Ferdinand, in this action, deserves the highest commendation, though he was worsted. For, his honour is greatly enhanced by the skill with which he planned and executed his retreat. However, the effects of this battle was greatly in favour of our enemies, and ruinous to the allies. The French still kept Franckfort, with all the advantages of its situation; and were put into a condition to renew their operations with greater hopes of success against the territories of the allies: but Prince Ferdinand was reduced to the necessity of remaining upon the defensive, of submitting to many inconveniences, and of encountering many difficulties, for a considerable time, upon the Weser; which river his Serene Highness maintained, in defiance of the several attempts of the French to deprive him of that communication.

Nothing now could prevent the reinforcements of the French armies, on the Upper and Lower Rhine. So that, about the middle of May, they were ready to take the field, and on the 3d of June they joined near Marpourg, under the chief command of M. de Contades, who took up his head-quarters at Corbach; and Cassel opened her gates

gates to his light-horse, the troops of the Land-gravate under General Imhoff having retired from

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that city to Paderborn. All their motions indicated a resolution to cut off Prince Ferdinand's retreat to the Weser: but without effect. The

How
watched
by Prince
Ferdinand.

Prince's endeavours were to throw as many obstructions, as possible, in their way. He left garrisons in Lipstadt, Ritberg, Munster and Minden. But they could not divert Contades from his principal object. He marched and encamped on the 12th at Stadtberg; and he detached Broglio to seize upon Munden and Gottingen in Hanover. Prince Ferdinand moved no further than to Lipstadt, and encamped between Soest and Werle. From thence he proceeded, with his army, to the heights of Buren, and to Ritberg; on the 30th of June arrived at Marienfield; and on the 3d of July he encamped at Driesen, between Osnaburg and Minden; where he was joined by General Wangenheim, and the Hanoverians, whom he brought first from the strong camp at Dulmen, and afterwards from under the cannon of Munster. With this reinforcement Prince Ferdinand made several other motions, till he fixed his head-quarters in an advantageous camp near Petershagen. The French, in the mean time, were left to pursue their plan without opposition. Whereby they found means to surprize Ritberg. M. Duke de Broglio took Minden by assault, and made there 1500 men prisoners, and took immense magazines. Mons. de Armentiers attempted the like against Munster; but was obliged to besiege it in form,

Success of
the French.

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Encamp
near Min-
den.

The allies
at Peter-
shagen.

The
strength of
the confe-
derate ar-
mies a-
gainst
Prussia.

Measures
to stop the
Russians.

Destroys
their ma-
gazines in
Poland.

before he could force the garrison, of 4000 men; to surrender prisoners of war: and then the main body of the French army halted, and took an advantageous camp near Minden.

We leave the allied army, under Prince Ferdinand, at Petershagen, and the main body of the French army near Minden, till we take a view of this campaign in the other parts of Germany.

The Austrian confederacy threatened to surround and attack the King of Prussia, with four hundred thousand men. For which immense magazines of provisions, forage and military stores of all sorts were formed, particularly in Poland by the Russians; on whose operations, in concert with Count Daun, it was apparent the success of their next campaign chiefly depended.

The obstruction of the Russians became the primary object of his attention. He had not strength enough to detach a sufficient force to watch their motions and to give them battle, with any hopes of advantage. His measures must be schemed to deprive them of the power of action. Nothing could effect this grand project but to cut off their means of subsisting; which depended, not upon the produce of the country or territories, through which they were to march, and already, in a great measure, ruined and laid waste by their last year's barbarities; but upon the magazines erected for their particular use in Poland. These he resolved to make feel the first blow of his arms in 1759, and to cut them off, if possible; and for this purpose he detached forty-six squadrons and

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1759.

and twenty-six battalions under General Wober-
snow, from Glogau in Silesia, about the middle
of February, who entered Poland, destroyed se-
veral vast magazines belonging to the Russians,
and particularly that at Posna, guarded by 2000
Cossacks, and contained as much flour as might
have fed 50,000 men for three months^b: some
accounts say, 46,000 bushels of grain.

His next endeavours were to disconcert the in-
tended union of the Imperialists and French with
the Austrians; and then to attack the latter with
advantage. His scheme so far succeeded, that he
drove the Imperialists from their stations at Er-
furth, Gotha and Eisenach, and then to burn and
destroy their magazines also. Which service was
well executed by General Knobloch, with a de-
tachment from the Prussian army in Saxony, about
the latter end of February; who carried off the
forage and provisions to Saxe-Naumberg, and
laid that part of the country under heavy contri-
butions^c.

Detaches a
strong bo-
dy against
the Impe-
rialists.

The

^b In this expedition the Prussians attacked the castle of
Prince Sulkowski, a Polish grandee, who had interested him-
self against the King of Prussia, forced him to surrender, and
carried him and his garrison prisoners into Silesia; and loaded
300 waggons with provisions and forage, he had collected
for the Russians.

^c Major-General Knobloch was detached from Saxony to
Erfurth, of which he made himself master on February the
28th. General Guaasco, after surrendering that city by capi-
tulation, retired to Schleusing, with the four battalions, which
he commanded. Two other battalions threw themselves into
the fortress of Petersberg, and promised to stand neuter. The

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Other detachments.

The troops of his Prussian Majesty laid nowhere inactive. Five thousand detached on the side of Mecklenbourg, attacked Schwerin, one of the principal cities in that dutchy; from whence they drove a garrison of 2000 men to seek shelter on a small island in the Lake of Schwerin^d: obliged most of the young men in the town, able to bear arms, to enlist in the Prussian service; and laid the country under contribution. From hence this corps penetrated into Swedish Pomerania, and forced the garrison of 200 men and eleven officers, in the town of Penamunde, to surrender prisoners of war.

Advantages over the Swedes.

The Swedes were not below his attention. Nor did the severity of the winter prevent his pursuit of their flying army. For, the army under General Manteuffel, in Pomerania, acted with such spirit, that his labours were recompensed with the surrender of Damgarten, Wolgast and several other places, whose garrisons either retired in time, or immediately submitted to the Prussian summons: and he reduced Demen and Anclam by siege, at

evening before he had taken, near Erfurth, three officers and sixty hussars. The 2d of March M. de Kleist, lieutenant-colonel of the green hussars, pushed as far as Eisenach, where he made 124 prisoners. A detachment sent to Smalkalden and Vacha, took also 150 men. On the 4th, Lieutenant-Colonel Wunsch, with 300 men, attacked a body of grenadiers posted behind felled trees, near Frauenwelde, dislodged them from that post, took twenty-seven prisoners, and one piece of cannon, a three pounder. After this expedition, the Prussian troops returned into their quarters the 9th and 10th.

^d On the 15th of March,

the

the same time; made 2700 prisoners of war, including officers, 48 pieces of cannon, mortars and howitzers; a large quantity of ammunition in Demen, and a very considerable magazine in Anclam.

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There remained but one more attempt, which, if executed with success, would compleat his plan, and place him in a condition to march in quest of the main Austrian army. This was, to cut off, or to streighten the subsistence of M. Daun's army, as much as possible. With this view we see his Majesty, immediately upon advice of the promised success of his different parties, assembling his main army near Strigau, and entrenching his forces at Bolchenhayn, near Landshut in Silesia. By which disposition he both rendered the invasion of Silesia impracticable, cut off the subsistence of M. Daun's army from that quarter, and even from Moravia, on which great dependance had been placed by the enemy; and enabled his brother, Prince Henry, to march out of Saxony into Bohemia, about the middle of April, and by destroying the Austrian magazines in that kingdom, to render subsistence on that side also extremely difficult. All which was performed without any other loss than at Griesenberg, on the frontiers of Silesia, where a battalion of Prussian grenadiers, posted under Colonel Düringsheven, were surprised and made prisoners by General Beck, who attacked that post with 4000 men.

Attempts
against
Count
Daun.

Prince Henry marched in two columns for Bohemia; one column marched by Peterswalde, and Prince Henry marches into Bohemia.

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1759.

Destroys
the Austri-
an maga-
zines.

and another, under General Hulsen, by Passberg and Commota. The vanguard of the column, which marched by Peterfwalde, found the eminence beyond that village fortified with a redoubt, with a strong barricade before it, guarded by 600 Croats and some Hungarian foot. This pass was forced: a major and thirty men were made prisoners, and fifteen slain. The time required to remove the barricade, facilitated the retreat of the enemy, who had leisure to draw off their troops. Nevertheless, the Prussian vanguard dividing into two bodies, one proceeded to Auffig and the other to Toplitz: the enemy fled precipitately every where. The magazine of Auffig was destroyed, and the boats on the Elbe burnt. The vanguard returned, on the 16th, to the main body at Welmina, having seized the magazines at Lowositz and Leutmeritz, and demolished a bridge they had lately built. General Hulsen found the pass of Passberg guarded by a body of Croats, and the regiment of Konigseg and Andlau. The horse which marched by Pelsbourg, attacked the enemy in the rear, while they were attacked in front by the foot, who at length drove them from their intrenchments. General Renard, with fifty-one officers and 2000 men were taken, and three colours, two standards, and three pieces of cannon. Major-General Ascherleben, at the head of the vanguard of the column commanded by General Hulsen, was detached to Saatz; but the Austrians burnt the magazine in that place, rather than suffer it to fall into the hands of the enemy. General Meinick,

Meinick, with his regiment of dragoons, and Colonel Kleift, at the head of the hussars, formed a passage over the Egra, cut part of the guard to pieces, took three officers, and 120 men prisoners, and destroyed several magazines ^c.

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After this expedition of destruction, which filled Bohemia with consternation, Prince Henry returned to refresh his troops near Dresden. But their recess was only of a short duration: for in a few days they were ordered to march in two columns; one took the rout of Saalfeldt, the other to Hoff in Franconia: a motion concerted between the King of Prussia and Prince Ferdinand, to disconcert the operations of the Imperialists. For about the same time that Prince Henry set off, with 40,000 men, a detachment of 12,000 Hanoverians, under the command of the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, began to march from the allied army for the same quarter; and, having joined the Prussians, their united force, on the 8th of April, fell upon the army of the Empire in three different posts, and completed their destruction so effectually, that the Prince of Deux

Routs the
Imperial
army.

^c The total destruction in the magazines amounted to 35,486 tons of meal; 37,400 loaves of bread, of 4 lb. weight each; 136,820 Berlin measures of oats, and 86,300 rations of hay, of 8 l. weight each. In destroying the magazine at Budin the flames spread, and reduced the town to ashes; though Prince Henry did all in his power to extinguish the fire.

The contributions raised in this expedition were divided: to every field-officer 100 rixdollars, to every subaltern 50 rixdollars, to every serjeant 20 rixdollars, and to every private man one rixdollar, exclusive of all their plunder.

Ponts,

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1759.

Obliged to
return into
Saxony.

Advant-
ages he had
gained.

Ponts, their commander in chief, demanded succours from M. Duke de Broglie, the French general at Franckfort. For, General Macguire was forced to quit Asch, and retire in the night to Egra: and the main body of the army of the Empire not in a condition to dispute the field with the Prussian general, fled before him to Cullembach, thence to Bamberg, and again to Nuremberg. Prince Henry, in this pursuit, reduced Cronach and the castle of Rotenberg. But when he had advanced as far as Bamberg^f, he was recalled, and the Imperial army was delivered from his future motions, by a diversion made by the irruption of a body of Austrians, under General Gemmingen, into Saxony. So that Prince Henry returned into Saxony, after he had made fifteen hundred prisoners, whom he sent to Leipzig, destroyed all the magazines that fell in his way, and laid the marquissate of Cullembach and the bishoprick of Bamberg under contribution. Though this diversion may be said to save the army of the Empire; their losses sustained by this expedition, disabled them from attempting any thing against the Prussians. Indeed Count Palfy made a faint

^f Bamberg surrendered on terms, at his approach, but some confusion happening before the capitulation was compleated, a party of Croats fired upon a party of Prussians, who had advanced near one of the gates. Which being resented by the Prince, as a breach of the capitulation, his Highness gave the city up to be plundered by his troops: who pillaged during two whole days, in a most unrelenting and licentious manner. Which occasioned loud complaints, all over Europe, against the Prussians, and afterwards produced a severe retaliation.

attempt

attempt to harrafs their retreat with a party of Imperialists; but that body was defeated with a considerable slaughter near Hoff; which reduced their whole army to about 10,000 men, who returned to Bamberg: and Gemmingen having gained his point, to draw the Prussian army back into Saxony, he retired into Bohemia at the approach of Prince Henry.

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M. Count Daun was all this time encamped in a very advantageous post, with the grand Austrian army at Schartz in Bohemia, within the circle of Koningsgratz. His right was at Braunau, and the left extended to Gabel. The King of Prussia remained near Landshut: and a considerable body of Prussians, commanded by General Fouquet, were posted in the southern part of Silesia. Which disposition kept their enemies in awe, and at short allowance for provisions and forage; though there were several skirmishes between Fouquet and the Austrian General de Ville, who commanded a large body of troops on the frontiers of Moravia. Here we behold the King of Prussia and M. Daun watching each other, with the greatest attention and impatience, to seize a critical moment, that might happen through any incident or oversight in either party. His Prussian Majesty had done all, that could be done in his circumstances, to distress his enemies, and to oblige them to remain upon the defensive. Nor could his enemies dare to attack him, without the assistance of the Russians. These had suffered greatly by the destruction of their magazines in the winter.

Position of
Count
Daun.

Of the
King of
Prussia.

Russians
resume
their operations.

But

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1759.

But the necessity of their aid put the Empress-Queen upon every expedient to keep the Czarina steady in her cause, and to prevail with her Majesty to keep the field. The Czarina as desirous of the King of Prussia's total ruin, as her confederates were, did not hesitate a moment at the requisition of the Austrian minister; but rather more exasperated by the King of Prussia's late success, and furnished with sufficient resources to repair the loss of her magazines, her Czarish Majesty ordered Count Soltikoff to lead her numerous army of savages into the dominions of Prussia.

March towards the Vistula.

In pursuance of this order, the Russian army resumed their march over the Vistula. On the 21st of April, they had finished two bridges across that river. Their irregulars appeared immediately in the Prussian territories, with their usual barbarities, ravaging without pity the frontiers of Pomerania, Brandenburg and Silesia; and the main body of the Russian army followed about the middle of May, taking the same rout, and exercising the like barbarities. His Prussian Majesty, at first, thought it sufficient to oppose their attempts by two parties; one posted under General Manteuffel at Grypswalden in Pomerania, and another at Koningswalde, under General Schla-berndorf. But when certain advice arrived, that the whole army of the Russians were actually in motion to pass the Vistula, his Majesty ordered Count Dohna to return from Mecklenburg, where he had been making levies, and raising contributions, to repair into Pomerania, and to take the chief

Attract the attention of the King of Prussia.

Count Dohna ordered to oppose them.

chief command of the troops destined to act against the invaders. With which he encamped near Custrin: and he was afterwards reinforced by the several bodies of troops under General Hulsen and General Wobernow, with orders to march into Poland in quest of the enemy.

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1759.

Count Dohna advanced to Meritz in Poland, and published a manifesto in the name of his Prussian Majesty, (dated the 15th of June) setting forth the necessity he was under to enter the republic of Poland, with a part of his armies, in order to protect their territories against the threatened invasion of the enemy; and declaring that this step must not be deemed a breach of respect he always had for that illustrious republic, nor lessen the good understanding hitherto subsisting between them; but to strengthen the same by granting him the same good-will as the Republic shewed to the enemy, than which he desired nothing more. He then demanded a supply of provisions, corn and forage sufficient for 40,000 men, with the utmost dispatch, upon promise of paying ready money for the same, but threatening to take it by force, in the same manner as the enemy had done, in case of a refusal or neglect.

Marches
into Po-
land.

Publishes a
manifesto
to excuse
this march.

Demands
provisions
for money.

His Majesty also made an attempt to draw recruits from Poland, and to engage some of the Polish nobility to take up arms in his cause and to join his army. For on the 22d of the same month, another manifesto or proclamation issued from Count Dohna, importing, That if any one had an inclination to enter into the King of Prus-

A mani-
festo for
recruits.

sia's

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1759.

Another
against
harbouring
deserters.

And for
punishing
deserters.

sia's service, with an intention to behave well and faithfully, he might apply to the head quarters, and be assured of a capitulation for three or four years: and that if any Prince or member of the republic of Poland were disposed to assemble a body of men, and to join in a troop, or in a company, the Prussian army, to make a common cause with it, he might depend upon a gracious reception, and that due regard would be shewn to his merit; at the same time threatening disagreeable consequences to any person, that should either shelter, conceal or lodge, any deserter from the Prussian colours, and promising a reward to every person, that should bring a deserter back and deliver him at the first advanced post, or at the head quarters. A caution that was become exceeding necessary, as appears by another manifesto of the 17th, wherein it is declared, "That it was with
" the greatest astonishment that the King had
" heard that several of his own subjects had suffered themselves to be seduced from their allegiance so far, as to enter into the service of a Potentate, with whom he is actually at war: and
" that all his subjects serving in the enemies armies, who shall be taken with arms in their hands, shall be sentenced to be hanged without
" mercy, as traitors to their King and country." From which it is evident, that the Prussian army in its march into Poland began to suffer by frequent desertions; and that it was necessary to bring the affair intended with the Russians to a crisis.

This

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1759.

This was certainly the resolution and expectation of the King of Prussia; his own army growing weaker and in danger of being distressed for provisions: whilst the enemy were in a situation to be daily reinforced and supplied by their fleet, now united with the Swedes^s, and commanding all the coast of the Baltic, from whence recruits, ammunition, provision, and all sorts of warlike stores, could be easily conveyed to the Russian army.

Swedish
fleet join
the Rus-
sian.

But Count Dohna diffident of his own strength, though he advanced as far as within five miles of Posna, could not be prevailed upon to attack the Russian grand army, under General Solticoff, in their strong encampment: which having the city Posna and the river Warta in their rear, and in their front a formidable entrenchment, mounted with a numerous artillery, he thought would be impregnable, or at least could not be attacked with any degree of success. Therefore he contented himself with trying every means to harass the enemy, to watch their motions, and to cut off their convoys to the eastward; till such times as his own army was reduced to the necessity of falling back to the Oder for their own subsistence. So that all he could do was not sufficient to stop their progress towards Silesia, who marched and encamped between Langemeil and Schmellau, in Silesia, by the time the Prussian General got with his army to Zullichau, near Crossen.

Count
Dohna's
overcau-
tion.

^s This united fleet had instructions to seize all Prussian vessels coming from, or bound unto Stettin.

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Disagree-
able to his
Prussian
Majesty.

Superced-
ed.

By Gene-
ral Wedel.

Who pre-
pares to at-
tack the
Russian
camp.

To dispute
the passage
of the
Oder.

This conduct of Count Dohna was extremely disagreeable to his Prussian Majesty; who placed great confidence in the courage of his troops, in the skill of his commanders, and in the timidity of his enemies; whose piquets, and advanced guards at the approach of only five battalions of Prussian infantry, supported by a few squadrons of horse, retreated within their lines, and suffered General Wabbersnow, with that small corps to reconnoitre the situation of their camp, and to carry off eleven prisoners, without the least motion to cut off his retreat. Therefore his Majesty superceded this cautious general by the appointment of General Wedel to his command in chief; with positive orders to attack the Russian army, which consisted of 70,000 men, though the Prussian forces did not exceed 30,000.

General Wedel arrived at the Prussian camp at Zullichau on the 22d of July, escorted by 200 dragoons, commanded by Major Podewils; who in his march defeated a Russian detachment plundering the village of Radwitz, killed 69, and took 80 prisoners. General Wedel immediately reconnoitred, in person, the position of the enemy's camp, which still was at Langemeil. But next morning, he discovered by their motions, that the Russians were preparing to quit their entrenchments, and to draw nearer the Oder, which afterwards appeared to favour M. Daun's motions against the King. So that General Wedel filed off with all possible diligence, to dispute the passage of that river. For this purpose he marched his

his army in two columns, one to march towards Kay, the other towards Moze.

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These motions soon brought on an engagement. For the van-guard of the column, that took the rout of Kay, and consisted of cavalry, had scarce passed the defile of Kay, before they fell in with the enemy's light troops: which they repulsed with great loss. Skirmishes happened every where in favour of the Prussians: and General Schorlemmer's cavalry did great execution at different times, in their march. Lieutenant-General Mantuffell, with six battalions, drove the enemy from several batteries, which the Russians had erected upon the heights to cover them as they advanced. But the fire from those heights was so well served, and continued with such briskness, and the Prussians having the worst of the ground, and not being able to bring their artillery to bear upon their enemies, that General Wedel was obliged to desist from the charge.

Skirmishes.

Engage-
ment.

General
Wedel ob-
liged to
desist.

The Russians and their confederates greatly magnified this action to their own advantage. But when we consider that the Russians did not pursue Wedel's army; and let him quietly sit down and pitch his camp within cannon shot of their own, and with his right wing extending to the hill of Kay, where the action began: they could have no reason to boast of the success of the day. And though the Prussians lost ⁿ 4000 killed, prisoners, and wounded; the Russians loss was considerably

His loss.

ⁿ Some accounts make the loss only 1000, others 8000 men.

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Russians
take Frank-
fort on the
Oder.

The Russians, though not in a humour to renew the battle, and to force the trenches of General Wedel, endeavoured to improve the opportunity, when they were well assured, that the Prussians were not in a condition to venture another battle, till strongly reinforced. In this interval Prince Solticoff quitted his camp, and made himself master of Frankfort upon the Oder, and of Crossen, without opposition.

Motions
of the
Prussians
and Austri-
ans.

His Prussian Majesty, who had been obliged to make various motions, to counteract the schemes of M. Daun, endeavouring to draw nearer to the rout of the Russians, and to facilitate their operations against Silesia, in order to favour the plan, he had formed for all the confederate armies, to attack the Prussians at one time; had quitted his camp in the mountains near Landshut, and marched by the way of Herchberg to Lahn. In this rout his vanguard met with the Austrians under General Laudohn, who had entered Silesia by the way of Griefenberg, and obliged him to retreat with loss.

King of
Prussia
watches
the mo-
tions of the
Russians.

His Majesty had his eye chiefly on the motions of the Russians; whose progress was to be stopt at all events: and as all accounts concurred to make their motions daily more hazardous to his interest, the King resolved, after this repulse of Laudohn,

Laudohn, by which Silesia was secured from any immediate attack from the Austrian army, to wait, at Geppersdorff, the success of his arms under General Wedel; having for that purpose chosen a strong and advantageous camp on the heights before the village of Schmotfieffen, both flanks well covered: its left towards Liebenhel, and Loewenberg behind its right wing. At the same time M. Daun occupied the heights behind the Quieffs, extending his right towards Grieffenberg, and his left to Lauban, with his head quarters at Gorlitz Heim in Lusatia.

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His strong
camp.

M. Daun's
camp.

The two armies were thus situated, when the news of the action between the Russians and the Prussians arrived in their camps. His Prussian Majesty resolved immediately to march, in person, to revenge the cause of General Wedel, and thereby to defeat the Russians. M. Daun penetrated into this design, and prepared immediately to reinforce the Russians with a strong body of Austrian cavalry, of which they were in need. The King put himself at the head of 10,000 choice troops, and marched for Wedel's army on the 1st of August, leaving the rest of his forces under the command of his brother Henry, to watch M. Daun. M. Daun had already detached about 12,000 horse and 8000 foot, under the command of General Laudohn in chief. These troops marched in two divisions; one column through Silesia, the other through Lusatia, and would have completed their junction had not General Wedel taken the post of Plauen, opposite to

King of
Prussia's
resolution
to march
against the
Russians.

M. Daun
reinforces
the Rus-
sians.

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1750.

Skirmishes
between
these de-
tachments.

Crossen. By which means his Prussian Majesty came up with the column commanded by General Haddick, at Somerfeldt, who retired at the approach of the Prussians; but not without considerable loss in his rear-guard; and in several skirmishes: in which the Prussians made a large booty and 2000 prisoners. Yet it was not in his Majesty's power to prevent the Austrians joining the Russians before he was in a condition to attack their main army.

The King
joins General
Wedel.

The King found General Wedel at Crossen, which he had retaken from the Russians: and on the 4th of August, their forces were joined at Muhlrose. But as the Austrian auxiliaries had

Waits for
further re-
inforce-
ment.

augmented Soltikoff's army to 90,000, it was judged necessary to put off the intended attack till his Majesty could receive further reinforcement:

Joined by
General
Finck.

and his only resource on this occasion was to recall the 9000 men detached under General Finck, to cover Saxony in his absence. Finck joined his Majesty's army on the 8th, at Lebus: and from that moment it was determined to march in quest of the Russians, and to give them battle.

Strength of
the Rus-
sian army.

The Russians and Austrians together made an army of 90,000 men; and were entrenched between Frankfort and Cunnersdorff in an advantageous situation, and defended by an immense artillery. The Prussians did not muster 50,000 men: but the deferring of an action was leaving the enemy at liberty to over-run and pillage the best and richest part of his dominions; was giving up Saxony a prey to the Imperialists, who had

Of the
Prussians.

Motives
for fight-
ing.

had already taken advantage of its defenceless state: it was exposing Berlin itself to the parties detached against that capital by M. Daun, and it was endangering all his dominions; which nothing could save but a victory; or at least a battle, that might check the progress of the Russian army.

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Difficulties in such a case were to be disregarded.

Danger was to be braved. On the 11th the Prussian army passed the Oder near Cultrin, and formed in order of battle near Escher, pursuing its march to Bischoffsee. General Finck was charged with the corps of reserve; with which he took post on the eminences, between that place and Trettin.

Prussian
order of
battle.

The 12th was the decisive day. The army began to march towards Repin at two in the morning, halted and formed in a wood, and then advanced towards the Russians. The left wing was kept back. The van-guard gained an eminence opposite to the enemy's left; on which the King ordered several batteries to be erected, intending to make his greatest effort on that side. It was

Battle be-
gun.

11 o'clock before his Majesty could bring matters to bear for the onset; when unmasking his batteries, there began a most furious fire upon the center of the Russian left, and upon its right point, with success: and, as soon as he perceived the disorder of the enemy, occasioned by the cannonade, his Majesty ordered some battalions in columns, to fall upon the left point, and the flank of the left wing. The charge was made with such impetuosity, that the Russians were stagger'd

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King of
Prussia's
hopes of
victory.

and ready to give way. The Prussians made themselves masters of three batteries, on which they found 80 pieces of cannon: and for upwards of six hours, the advantage was so manifestly on the side of Prussia, that the Russians themselves began to despair of victory, and his Majesty made himself so sure of success, that he dispatched a messenger with this billet to the Queen:—"Madam, we have drove the Russians from their entrenchments, and have taken a vast artillery. You may soon expect to hear of a glorious victory." But fortune played his Majesty a trick on this occasion. She led him through almost impenetrable intrenchments; enabled him to force one post after another, as far as Cunnerdorff: but here she deserted, and left him a prey to his own rashness.

How de-
prived of
his hopes.

Prince Soltikoff, finding himself thus defeated almost in every quarter, resolved to make his last stand on his left wing, much shattered, but more entire than any other part of his army. He assembled the remains of his right wing; drew off the whole second line of the centre, and divided them both into small corps, or large battalions, formed in long squares or columns, to support the flank of his left wing: and then the Russian general, under cover of an advantageous eminence, called the Jews burial ground, fortified with a strong redoubt, drew up a great body of his troops, by way of a forlorn hope, supported by all the Austrian cavalry, which had not yet been engaged. The Russian advocates pass'd great encomiums

encomiums upon these motions and dispositions made by their general. ' These motions, say they, were made with an order impracticable to any but the boldest and most intrepid troops: and that the King of Prussia had no idea of a manœuvre so cool and phlegmatic in the midst of such a hot fire.'

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The truth is this. The Russians were driven out of their trenches; they fled before the Prussians; and they placed their last resort for defence, and to save the remains of their army, in a situation really impregnable by an army fatigued, by the hard service of six hours slaughter, in an excessive hot day, and unable to bring up their artillery over bad ground, while they must be exposed to a great train, in defence of that post. Had the King of Prussia been contented with his advantages and maintained his ground, the Russians would have acted the second part of their conduct, under General Fermerⁱ, and had been heartily drubbed at Zorndorff. It is very probable, that in a few days they would have returned back by the nearest way into their own territories: but flushed with success, he could not be satisfied with any thing less than a total overthrow of his enemies; without consulting the danger and difficulty of renewing the attack.

Remarks.

His generals remonstrated against so desperate a step; which could promise nothing but the destruction of his own troops, and the loss of those

Continues
the battle
contrary to
the advice
of his Ge-
nerals.

ⁱ See page 334, &c. Vol. III.

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advantages, and that glory they had already acquired. His Majesty would hear no opposition to his opinion. It was resolved: the attack was made. The Austrian cavalry came fresh into the action, and beat the Prussian horse back, which put the foot into disorder. His Majesty did his utmost to retrieve the affair: thrice he himself led on his troops to the charge, and exposed his person to the greatest danger. He had two horses killed under him, and several balls passed through his cloaths. But all these efforts were in vain. His troops were spent. The post was inaccessible: and some of the enemy's cannon were brought within 40 yards, and fired with cartouch. Therefore, perceiving that his men were exhausted, and that he had been deceived in his opinion of the enemy's strength and courage, he came to the resolution to draw them off: in which he was favoured by the approach of night. For, that enabled him to get possession of some heights, which could be easily defended: and by that means he covered the retreat of his troops, who were obliged to return to the place, where they began the attack, and quit all the advantages, they had gained in the beginning of the day.

Letter to
the Queen.

As soon as his Prussian Majesty was convinced of this fatal error, he dispatched another courier to inform his Queen, " That he had hazarded another attempt, in which he had failed; and " commanded her to remove from Berlin with " the royal family; and to send the archives to " Potzdam. He also gave the city leave to make " conditions

“conditions with the enemy.” For it was not doubted, but that the Russians would make the best of their way to plunder the capital of Brandenburg, and lay the Electorate under heavy contributions.

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This was the most bloody battle the King of Prussia had ever fought. He lost almost twenty thousand of his best troops. The enemy's loss was not so great; though it is certain, that they had lost upwards of 10,000 men, before they retreated to the Jew's Burying-ground. But what injured the King most was, the great slaughter amongst his officers, and the loss of his artillery. General Putkammer was amongst the slain; and scarce an officer escaped without a wound. In this condition his Majesty, next day, retreated over the Oder, collected his fugitives, and saw with joy and astonishment, the enemy remain inactive and quiet in their camp. He marched thence to Fustenwalde, a situation that eased him of all his fears for Berlin; as it enabled him to cover his capital from all incursions of the Russians, and preserved a communication for supplies of provisions, ammunition and cannon from the royal magazines in that city. Here also his Majesty was reinforced with 5000 men, under the command of General Kleist, whom he recalled from Pomerania.

Loss on
both sides.

Retreats
without
molesta-
tion.

When Soltikoff began to move, instead of taking the rout for Brandenburg he marched further into Silesia, with part of his army, joined M. Daun's army in Lusatia, and consulted with that general in what manner they might best improve

Russians
join M.
Daun.

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Resolve to
besiege
Great Glo-
gau.

Situation
of the ar-
mies.

Skirmishes.

At Vehla.

prove the late advantage; the Imperialists having already over-run Saxony, and reduced Hall, Leip-
fic, Torgau and Dresden. Their resolution was for the Russians to besiege Great Glogau. But this design was frustrated by the penetration of the King; who, foreseeing their intention, detached General Wunck, with six thousand men, to check the progress of the Imperialists in Saxony, and encamped with the rest of his army, so as to cover Glogau from a surprize.

Thus we see four great armies, commanded by the King of Prussia, Prince Henry, Count Daun and General Soltikoff, encamped in Lusatia and the borders of Silesia. They watched the motions of each other; while the war was carried on briskly by detached parties. Wunch retook Leip-
fic, joined General Finck at Eulenburg, and in their rout towards Dresden, they frightened General Haddick from an advantageous post near Roth-Scemberg, and repulsed him, joined by the whole Imperial army near Meissen, on the 21st of September. The Austrians and Imperialists attacked the two Prussian generals in their entrenchments at Corbitz; and endeavoured to dislodge them by a furious cannonade from morning to night, under whose favour they retired with a considerable loss in killed and wounded, and 500 prisoners in the hands of the Prussians.

Prince Henry formed a scheme to surprize a considerable body of Austrians under General Vehla, at Hoyerwerda, about eleven German miles distant from his camp at Hornsdorff, near Gor-

Gorlitz. Which he executed with success on the 23d of October, and took the General and 1200 men prisoners, and killed six hundred.

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His Highness afterwards joined the troops under Finck and Wunch, which obliged M. Daun to abandon his camp also, and to march with all expedition to cover Dresden; which city, it was probable, that prince had resolved to attempt. Prince Soltikoff, on this occasion, separated from the Austrians, and the siege of Glogau being impracticable, they repassed the Oder at Neusalze, and encamped at Franstadt: so that the banks of the Oder, at this time, entertained three armies, the Russians at Franstadt, a body of Austrians, under General Laudohn, at Schlichtingskeim; the Prussians, under their King at Koben.

Austrians
and Rus-
sians sepa-
rate.

Prince Henry's communication with the King was entirely cut off; and his army was almost surrounded by Austrian detachments: but by his vigilance and activity he gained several advantages over them. General Finck drove them out of Vogelsang; and with six battalions and some cavalry he crossed the Elbe, and joined a Prussian corps at Wittenberg, retired from Duben before the Austrians.

Operations
of Prince
Henry.

This was all that happened in these quarters till the 29th of October, when the Duke d'Aremberg, with sixteen thousand Austrians, marched from Dammitch, to occupy the heights near Pretsch; and was attacked and defeated by General Wunch, who made 1200 prisoners, amongst whom were twenty officers and Lieutenant-General

Duke d'A-
remberg
defeated.

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Prince
Henry
encamps
near Tor-
gau.

Joined by
the King.

General
Finck sur-
rounded.

Bravery of
his troops.

neral Gemmingen; and took some cannon, great part of their tents, and a large quantity of baggage.

After this action Prince Henry, encamped with all his party, called in at Strehla; from whence, on the 16th day of November, he marched to a strong camp near Torgau, to prevent his communication with that city being cut off. Besides, he was soon joined by the King himself and 20,000 men from Silesia.

The King had conceived a project to hinder the retreat of the Austrians into Bohemia, by gaining possession of the defiles of Maxen and Ottendorff. He detached nineteen battalions and thirty-five squadrons, under General Finck, for this service. But there was some egregious mistake either in the project or in its execution. For though Daun, on advice of this motion, did retire to Plauen: yet it seems to have been with a design to draw the Prussians more into his power, by making them more off their guard. Finck was scarce encamped on the hill near the village of Maxen, before he saw himself attacked by the corps de reserve of M. Daun's army, which was encamped under the command of Baron de Sincere, near Dippodeswalda. The baron marched his troops in four columns through the woods, and surrounded the Prussians, before they had the least intimation of their approach. However, the conduct of General Finck, and the bravery of his troops, maintained their ground with great resolution, till they lost their redoubt, and were overpowered

powered by numbers: and then they made their retreat good from height to height, till, by favour of the night, they reached Falkenhayn.

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But this was of very short duration. For at break of day the general found himself so enclosed, by the dispositions made by M. Daun, that it was impossible for him to escape; and had no alternative left, but to surrender himself, eight other Prussian generals, and his whole corps, prisoners of war, with sixty-four pieces of cannon, fifty pair of colours, and twenty-five standards.

Obliged to
surrender.

This certainly was the punishment of an oversight in his Prussian Majesty; who should have preserved a communication with Finck: but he, in the beginning of December^k, met with another loss, which could not be foreseen. This was, the loss of General Diercke, and three battalions, on the banks of the Elbe, opposite to Mieffen. General Diercke had been stationed at that post, and being recalled was obliged to transport his troops in boats, the floating ice preventing the use of his pontoons. When he and his rear-guard were left, a strong body of Austrians attacked them, and after an obstinate defence took him and all his men, amounting to between 3 and 4000.

General
Diercke
obliged to
surrender.

If the King of Prussia is culpable for the loss of General Finck's detachment, it is with amazement that all Europe saw M. Daun marching into Saxony, and occupying the strong camp of Pirna, after an action, that deprived his Prussian Majesty

M. Daun's
inactivity
censured.

^k The 3d of December.

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of 20,000 men, and otherwise injured his future operations; instead of pursuing the blow, when it was more probable than at any period of the war, that one vigorous effort would have crushed the King of Prussia, and put an end to the troubles in that part of Germany.

Weakness
and con-
duct of the
King of
Prussia.

The King of Prussia's strength being considerably reduced, by these two late blows, at the conclusion of a long campaign; and pleasing himself with the inactivity of his formidable enemy, who had almost 40,000 men more than himself, took all possible measures to prevent a surprize, and obtained a reinforcement of 12,000 men, under the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, from the allied army; but when he saw M. Daun laid up at Pirna, his Majesty dismissed these auxiliaries, and placed his own troops in winter-quarters.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME,

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME











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The general history of the later war

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